



PIZARRO

CONQUEROR
OF THE INCA

STUART STIRLING



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*For my mother Dora-Elena,
and to the memory of her grandfather
Rubén Díez de Medina y Leguizamón,
a descendant of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón,
one of Pizarro's horsemen.*

Preface

On 18 June 1977 four workmen restoring the crypt of Lima's cathedral discovered in one of its walls a metal casket and box containing a man's skull and bones, together with fragments of a sword and a pair of silver spurs. The casket bore the esoteric emblem of a six-pointed star within four concentric circles, and the words: 'This is the head of the Lord Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro who discovered and conquered these realms of Peru, and who placed them in the Royal Crown of Castile.'¹ For almost four and a half centuries after his killing at his palace in Lima the remains of the conqueror of the Inca empire had remained hidden from the world, his name virtually forgotten during South America's evolution from colonialism to independence and statehood.

Francisco Pizarro is possibly one of the most reviled figures in world history, his memory branded by the stigma of Spain's colonial past, inspired as much by the cruelty of its conquistadores as by the envy of its European neighbours. Their own later colonisations would be no less bloody, and their economic motives not dissimilar. History, art and legend, on the other hand, have bequeathed a romanticised image of his victim the Inca Emperor Atahualpa, whose execution he had ordered at Cajamarca, and who in reality was a man equally brutal and ambitious.

In moral terms, Pizarro was no better and no worse than any other contemporary European military commander, deriving his livelihood in his service to his sovereign from booty and the sale of prisoners and slaves. Nor was the method of war he employed any more bloody than that of his Native American adversary or of the Inca warriors whose armies had subjugated the Andes in less than a hundred years. What made him exceptional was his ability to consolidate his conquest in political terms, laying the foundations of an empire whose wealth would shape the course of world history, and whose killing at the hands of his own countrymen was the sacrifice he paid for his endeavour.

Pizarro was no educated cartographer such as Columbus, or courtly adventurer like Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. The illiterate and abandoned son of an Extremaduran army captain of probable part African

ancestry, for some thirty years he had made a living as a slaver and frontiersman in the early settlements of the Caribbean and Central America – known as the Indies because of Columbus's misguided belief that it formed part of the continent of India, and for which reason its natives were called by that name. Very little is known of those early years other than what the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo records in a few references, when Pizarro was in the service of Nicaragua's elderly governor Pedro Arias Dávila.

Pizarro's conquest of the Inca empire, however, unfolds much later, almost half a century after Columbus had first set foot in the New World, at a time when Spanish dominion over the Caribbean islands and Central America was already well established, and some ten years after the conquest of Mexico.

It is a story of how a man's courage and endeavour led him to the discovery and conquest of one of the greatest civilisations of the New World, accompanied by no more than 200 poorly armed volunteers, with whom, and against all odds, he defeated the might of the Inca armies. It is also the story of the plight of the Inca people in the aftermath of Pizarro's conquest, and of the succession of his youngest brother Gonzalo as ruler of his colony, who in all but name created the first independent state in the Americas: a legacy that laid the foundations of modern Hispanic South America.

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Chronology

- 1476** Francisco Pizarro born, Trujillo, Extremadura
- 1492** Columbus discovers the New World
- 1502** Possible date of his departure for the New World and the island of Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti)
- 1509** Arrives in the Isthmus from Hispaniola
- 1513** Accompanies Vasco Núñez de Balboa in discovery of the Pacific Ocean
- 1514** Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Soto arrive in the Isthmus in the armada of its new governor, Don Pedro Arias Dávila, known as Pedrarias
- 1515** St Teresa of Ávila born
- 1519** Hernán Cortés conquers Mexico
- 1522** The Basque Pascual de Andagoya reconnoitres the Pacific coastlands of Colombia and Ecuador, the northern empire of the Incas
- 1523–7** Exploratory voyages by Pizarro and Almagro to Ecuadorian coast
- 1527** Death of Inca Emperor Huayna Cápac
- 1529** Civil war between Inca Emperor Huáscar and his half-brother Atahualpa
At Toledo Emperor Charles V awards Pizarro the *Capitulación de Conquista*, right of conquest, of Inca empire
- 1532** Pizarro's conquistadores seize Atahualpa at Cajamarca
- 1533** Almagro's reinforcements reach Cajamarca
Distribution of treasure at Cajamarca
Execution of Atahualpa at Cajamarca
Capture of Cuzco
- 1535** Hernando de Soto leaves Peru for Spain
Almagro leaves Cuzco for conquest of Chile

Pizarro founds City of the Kings at Lima as capital of colony of New Castile

- 1536–7** Cuzco besieged by Emperor Manco
- 1537** Almagro relieves Cuzco and captures the city for himself
- 1538** Almagro's forces defeated at Battle of Salinas by Hernando Pizarro's loyalist army. Almagro executed
- 1539** Birth of historian Garcilaso de la Vega at Cuzco
Gonzalo Pizarro leads first invasion of Vilcabamba
- 1540** Gonzalo leads expedition to Amazon
- 1541** Pizarro killed at Lima
- 1542** Governor Vaca de Castro defeats Almagro's son at Battle of Chupas
- 1544** Gonzalo Pizarro leads an armed rebellion in Cuzco and governs the colony for four years until his defeat at the Battle of Jaquijahuana
- 1545** Discovery of silver mine at Potosí
- 1552** Hernando Pizarro marries Pizarro's daughter, Doña Francisca, at the castle of La Mota in Medina del Campo
- 1556** Abdication of Emperor Charles V in favour of his son King Philip II
- 1557** Inca Sayri Túpac induced to leave Vilcabamba
- 1560** Young Garcilaso de la Vega leaves Peru for Spain, never to return
- 1561** Hernando Pizarro released from the castle of La Mota
- 1572** Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo orders inquiry into Inca history
Toledo orders second invasion of Vilcabamba. Capture and execution of Inca Túpac Amaru
- 1578** Death of Hernando Pizarro
- 1590** Death at Cuzco of last of Pizarro's conquistadores

ONE

The Old Slaver

He was a tall man, with a fine face and a thin beard.

Pedro Pizarro, Pizarro's page and kinsman

Rising above the skyline on a barren plain, Trujillo's crenellated walls and church towers could be seen clearly from the main Extremadura road to Badajoz that winds its way to the Portuguese border. A blistering sun hung over the town's windless approach as the old slaver and his small caravan of horses and mules entered its northern gate, by the old castle, their hooves resounding across the narrow streets. It was the autumn of 1529, sixteen years since he had accompanied his fellow Extremaduran Vasco Núñez de Balboa on a voyage that culminated in the discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

In a corner niche of one of the town's palaces, overlooking the main square that was built over a quarter of a century later, his thin bearded features are sculpted alongside the coat of arms which the Emperor Charles V awarded him and that depict his prisoner, the Inca Emperor Atahualpa, chained by the neck. It is the only known contemporary portrait of Francisco Pizarro.

One of his conquistadores recalled that he was the strongest and bravest man he had ever known, and that 'no man was his equal'.¹ It was an opinion shared by many of the veterans of the Inca conquest, among them Nicolás de Ribera, known as 'the old man', who told the historian Agustín de Zárate that when crossing a river, and seeing that one of his Indian servants had been swept away by the current, Pizarro had swum to his rescue, dragging him up by the hair, an action for which the rest of his men were too terrified to volunteer.²

The chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who had served with Pizarro in the Caribbean islands and isthmus of Central America, recorded his ruthlessness and stated that he had been well trained in the cruelties of

the Indies. He was also, according to those who knew him, modest and reserved, a man of few words and simple tastes, preferring the matting of a floor or a hammock to the luxury of a bed. A plain-speaking man with the soft peasant accent of the Extremaduran, he possessed few social graces but would never demand anything of his men that he was not prepared to carry out himself. Others saw in him an almost secretive ambition and a vision few of his fellow slavers and veterans of the Indies could understand; it was a vision that had brought him back to Spain after an absence of twenty-seven years.

For almost an entire year Pizarro had prolonged his stay in Spain at court in Toledo. There he had been granted an audience with the young Emperor Charles V, to whom he had presented part of the small booty of gold, and the llamas and tropical birds he had brought back from his exploration of the equatorial coast of South America. This land had been discovered some seven years previously by the Biscayan Pascual de Andagoya, who had mistakenly given it the name of a local tribe, known as Birú or Perú. Impressed by the gifts and artefacts the old slaver had brought with him, and by the animals and birds he had ordered placed in his small zoo outside the city walls, the emperor neither denied nor granted his subject's request for permission to raise an expedition of conquest of those lands. Instead, he instructed his private secretary to forward the matter to his Council of the Indies, the body that controlled Spain's sole governance of the newly founded American empire of the New World.

The appearance at court of the plain and ill-dressed Indies veteran, who could neither read nor write, accompanied by two Indian boys and a Greek mariner from the small settlement at Panama, had met with some initial curiosity and even a certain acclaim. However, it had elicited none of the euphoria demonstrated the previous year on the return to Spain of Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. He had entranced the emperor and his court with the lavishness of the wealth and treasure he had brought, and the magnificence and plumed apparel of his train of native princes. Possessing neither a recommendation of any note nor the patronage of any grandee or court official, the future conqueror of Peru in contrast presented an insignificant, if not impoverished figure. Lodged in one of the poorer boarding houses hidden in the labyrinth of narrow streets of the city's Jewish quarter, he began a routine that would last for several months. Each

day he joined the long line of petitioners to the chambers of the Council of the Indies, where he eventually presented his plans for conquest to its chief minister, the count of Osorno, a member of the powerful Manrique family. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the emperor, who soon after Pizarro's arrival left Toledo for Barcelona on his way to his coronation in Bologna, had readily acceded to his petition; or that Cortés, a distant and possibly unacknowledged relative of Pizarro, had influenced any such decision. (Years later it would be Cortés's secretary who discredited Pizarro's achievements and belittled him by inventing the story that as a foundling he had been raised by swine.)

The only recommendation the virtually unknown colonist had been able to count upon other than the small quantity of gold he had brought with him was that of a minor Crown official from the port of Panama, Gaspar de Espinosa. He would later be one of the principal investors in his expedition, and it was he who attested to Pizarro's character and years of service in the founding of the Central American territories of Nicaragua and Panama. While Espinosa's correspondence may have added some insight into Pizarro's past service, it was Pizarro's simple logic and plain words, and his quiet and unassuming belief in his ability to succeed at such an undertaking that attracted the count of Osorno.

Though Pizarro had proposed a dual command for the expedition, to be shared with one of his principal partners, such a notion was rejected, if not simply on military grounds. Months were spent on further meetings covering every aspect of the Crown's share of the proposed expedition's booty and of the rights of its volunteers, who in exchange for their service were to be rewarded equally. Both Osorno and Pizarro knew that what had been agreed at worst would cost his life and those of his men, but at best would open up for Spain a wealth and a continent as great as Cortés had discovered in Mexico. Neither man, however, harboured any illusion that the expedition's success was assured, or believed without reservation that the riches Pizarro's Greek companion Pedro de Candía had sworn he had seen on his solitary journey into the hinterland of the equatorial coast were an indication of even greater wealth, rather than simply representing an isolated discovery. Osorno, nevertheless, was persuaded to gamble simply on the strength of the character of the man who stood before him.

A decision was finally taken and Osorno was received by the Empress Isabel at her Council of Ministers. His recommendations were accepted by

the empress, and befitting a royal command, Pizarro was awarded the knighthood of Santiago. The articles of the decree, known as the *Capitulación de Conquista* and signed by the empress in July 1529, stipulated that the name New Castile be given to the conquered territories, of which Pizarro would be governor and captain-general. His partner Diego de Almagro, who had remained behind at Panama, was awarded the future governorship of the coastal settlement of Túmbez which they had founded, and the rank of hidalgo. His other partner, the priest-merchant Alonso de Luque, also then at Panama, was awarded the bishopric of the future colony. The evangelical purpose of the enterprise was emphasised by the inclusion of several Dominican missionaries. Provision was also made for the limited purchase of artillery in the Isthmus of Panama and the award of twenty-five horses from the island of Jamaica and of thirty African slaves from the island of Cuba.

Though Pizarro and his colonist partners were awarded an annual pension from the Crown's anticipated revenue from the territories and booty of their conquest, they were in effect to receive no direct financial backing for their expedition other than an advance on their future incomes. Nor were they compensated for what they had already spent in fitting out and manning their earlier voyages of exploration; as one of the conquistadores would later recall:

... in the desire to serve Your Majesty and to enhance the Crowns of Castile and León, the said Francisco Pizarro determined on the discovery and conquest of these realms of Peru at his own cost and mission, for which this witness neither saw, nor heard it said, that Your Majesty nor the Royal Treasury did aid him for the expense of the discovery and conquest, and that this witness, being one of the discoverers and conquistadores, would have known had it been thus ... for the said Francisco Pizarro set on the conquest at his own cost, and there spent the patrimony of his years of labour, for it was known to me that he was a man of wealth in the realm of Tierra Firme [Panama].³

His sojourn at Toledo was a triumph of patience and endurance, qualities that would serve Pizarro well in the months and years to come, and which would help him turn what then seemed little more than a simple aspiration

into a reality of extraordinary dimensions, the consequences of which few would ever have dreamed possible.

At the time Francisco Pizarro left Toledo for his birthplace of Trujillo to recruit the first contingent of men for his expedition he was fifty-three years old, and regarded as virtually an old man by the townsmen and farm labourers who had come to hear him speak in the modest stone house that had once belonged to his father. One by one they had gathered in its dimly lit main chamber, staring at the tall grey-bearded stranger, his black cape embroidered at the shoulder with the scarlet sword-shaped knightly cross of the Order of Santiago; only a few of the older townsmen remembered him as the washer-woman's son. His two Indian boys Martín and Felipillo, whom he was training as interpreters, squatted on the stone floor beside him. Behind him clustered a handful of volunteers he had brought with him from Toledo, among them his young kinsman Pedro Pizarro, a lad of fifteen, who acted as his page and servant, and Alonso de Mesa who was the same age, and who had also been entrusted into his care at Toledo. Both boys would live to be the oldest of his conquistadores and among the very few to die in their beds. Towering above the small group was the Greek Candía, a giant of a man whose knowledge of gunpowder had secured him the appointment as Pizarro's captain of artillery.

It had been almost forty years since Pizarro had left Trujillo with his mother for the southern Seville region, where she had married and raised another family. All of those who listened to him knew that he was the son of the hidalgo Gonzalo 'Pizarro the tall', the infantry captain who had died in Pamplona seven years previously, and who had left more bastards than anyone cared to remember. They also knew that his half-brother Hernando, some twenty years younger than him and the captain's only legitimate son, had never met him before. Neither, for that matter, had his other two half-brothers Juan and Gonzalo, nineteen and seventeen respectively. Tall and dark featured, the brothers were 'as arrogant as they were poor', recorded Fernández de Oviedo, who described Hernando as 'of great stature and girth, his lips swollen, his nose veined'.⁴ It is a description echoed in the time-worn features of Hernando's funerary sculpture in Trujillo's old cemetery, which is probably the only surviving realistic portrait of him. His distinctive African appearance also possibly confirms such ancestry in the Pizarro family – maybe due to the fact that Trujillo was once a slave market

town, and that one of Pizarro's volunteers was the piper Juan García Pizarro, who was referred to in later documents as a 'Negro'.⁵

Pizarro well knew that the door to his brother's house had been opened to him after so many years solely because of the circumstances that had brought him to Trujillo. Nor had he forgotten that only a few weeks previously not a single one of his relatives had been willing to testify on his behalf at the investigation into his lineage by the Friar Pedro Alonso, a formality the officers of the Order of Santiago required of its newly created knights. Only a few of the townspeople had been prepared to speak on his behalf.⁶ One of the witnesses, the elderly town whore Inés Alonso, confirmed that she had been present at his birth in the small shanty quarter, below the town's castle walls. Another remembered having seen him as a boy in the house of his grandfather, the captain's father. Each testified to the identity of his mother as Francisca González, who at the time of his birth had been a young servant in the town's convent of La Coria, close by the castle and church of Santa María la Mayor.

It was his half-brother Hernando who first addressed the townsmen. Then Pizarro spoke to them. He described how as a boy he had enlisted in the army of Italy, following his countrymen to Naples as is recorded in the grant of his coat of arms the empress had also awarded him; and how as a young man he had later sailed to the New World in the armada of the Friar Knight Nicolás de Obando to the island of Hispaniola, of which his father's younger brother Juan had been one of the founding settlers.⁷ He then told them how he had served under the command of the slaver Alonso de Ojeda before eventually sailing to the settlement of the Darién, from where he had accompanied Núñez de Balboa as his second in command in his discovery of the Pacific.

Finally, he spoke of the two voyages of exploration he had later made from the port of Panama along that southern Pacific coastline, and he showed them the samples of gold jewellery, pearls and other precious stones he had brought back with him to Spain. In his testimonial to the Audiencia of Lima in 1553 Nicolás de Ribera, who had served as his quartermaster, gave what is a little-known account of these voyages:

It must have been some thirty years, more or less, when I first arrived in Tierra Firme from the kingdoms of Spain, and where in the town of

Panama I met the captains Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, and the priest Luque, who had formed a company for the discovery of these realms of Peru. And I joined them in this venture and helped them collect all the necessary goods and provisions for the ship they would use in their discovery, being the only one of that size on this southern sea of the Isthmus.

And in that year of 1523 I sailed from the port of Panama with the Captain Pizarro to the harbour of Piñas, where we landed and explored the interior, which was of great hardship, cutting our way through dense terrain and marsh land, and where one of our men drowned. And we returned to our ship and sailed along the southern coast till we reached another cove, which we were to call the ‘cove of hunger’, because of the suffering we endured there ...

It was from there that the captain sent our ship back to Panama to bring us food and provisions, and I remained on the island with the other men, and where many of them were to die of hunger ... and on the ship’s return, the earth being so denuded and poor, we once more set sail south to where a cacique, whom we called the ‘cacique of the stones’, had his lands, and whose Indians we fought, and where four or five of our men were killed. The captain was himself wounded and I also suffered two wounds, one in the head, and a lance wound in my shoulder.

And as it was impossible for us to sustain ourselves there, we sailed again to the province of Chochama, where the captain remained with the few men that had survived, and I went back with the ship and the other men to Panama, to refit the barque and to inform the Governor Don Pedro Arias Dávila about our voyage. And as we were sailing back we heard news that Almagro’s ship of provisions had passed us, and I sent word of this in a canoe to the captain, informing him that help was on its way.

And in Panama I later learnt that Almagro had suffered the loss of his eye in a skirmish with the same ‘cacique of the stones’, and where many of his men had been killed. And on his orders I went across the Isthmus to the port of Nombre de Dios to enlist more men, and together we finally set off to rescue the captain, whom we found at Chochama, and from where all our combined men sailed in two ships as far as the river of San

Juan, the basin of which we explored with the canoes we had taken with us.

Seeing the poor condition of the land, it was decided that Almagro would once more return to Panama, and I with him, where we enlisted a further fifty men and acquired six horses. And again we sailed back to where we had left the captain, from where we sailed south to a bay we named San Mateo, where we disembarked the horses and explored the interior of the land, and where we saw many villages. But after two days we were attacked from both the land and by canoes from the sea, and we retreated to the bay, from where we sailed to the neighbouring island we called Gallo, and where we stayed with the captain, while Almagro once more returned to Panama with the two ships.

For some six months we remained there, suffering great deprivations and hunger, and where we built a small raft so that we could search for food, and it was when the governor of Panama, Don Pedro de los Ríos, sent out a search party for us ...

And I remained with the captain on the island with nine other men, and I helped persuade my companions to remain there also, in the service of His Majesty. But seeing that we could no longer survive, for we were being constantly attacked by the Indians of that coast-land, we went to another neighbouring island, Gorgona, where we remained for some six or seven months, awaiting our rescue, experiencing terrible hunger and affliction.

Eventually Bartolomé Ruiz came from Panama in one of our ships, bringing us food and provisions, and from there we sailed south and continued in our exploration, reaching the port of Santa, and from there we returned to Panama, taking with us many llamas, gold and silver, and woollen garments of many colours, and much information about these lands, together with some Indian captives, whom we later used as interpreters.⁸

Pizarro was a truthful man and he admitted to his small audience that on his last voyage many of his men had rebelled against his authority. Half-naked and in rags, their feet and skin bleeding from sores and infection, some of them out of their minds from sunstroke, they had accused him of being little more than a butcher. And it was how many of them described him to Pedro

de los Ríos, who had succeeded Arias Dávila as governor of Panama. And he told his audience how with his sword he had drawn a line across the sand, allowing most of them to return to Panama, and declaring that to those who wished to share his fate he could offer nothing but hardship, hunger and probable death, but if God was willing, the riches of the earth. And he listed the names of the thirteen men who had chosen to remain with him on the island, among them Ribera and Candía, and for whose loyalty he had secured for them from the emperor the rank of hidalgo: the Andalucians Cristóbal de Peralta, Pedro de Halcón, García de Jarén and Alonso de Molina; the Castilians Antón de Carrión and Francisco de Cuéllar; the Leonese Alonso Briceño; the Extremadurans Juan de la Torre and Gonzalo Martín de Trujillo; the Basque Domingo de Soralue; and Martín de Paz, whose origin is unknown.

The men of Trujillo had listened to Pizarro in polite silence, and some had even been moved by his words and courage, but they had heard such words before, from the mouths of other slavers and adventurers, men with similar ideas and purpose. Few had come home rich. Many had never returned. Other than the Extremadurans of Mérida, who had followed Cortés in his conquest of Mexico ten years previously, most of them had died in unknown graves, mourned by their mothers and wives: old women clad in black, who could still be seen praying for their souls in the town's churches, with little more than their memories to fend off the poverty of their daily lives.

Only seventeen men in Trujillo were to volunteer for Pizarro's expedition, among them the 24-year-old Diego de Trujillo, who some forty years later, together with Pedro Pizarro and Alonso de Mesa, at the behest of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo would record their reminiscences of the conquest. It was a far cry from the 150 volunteers Pizarro was obliged to raise under the terms of his warrant. Only a further nineteen men were raised from the other regions of Extremadura, and only a handful of those who accompanied him would ever return.⁹

The homelands and social hierarchies Pizarro's volunteers were to leave behind in their poverty-stricken villages and townships of Extremadura, Castile and Andalucía had evolved in the feudalism of the Middle Ages, an era that had transformed Spain from an amalgamation of semi-autonomous Visigoth and Arab kingdoms into a nation of imperial power. In that age too

the throne of Spain had passed to the Flemish-born grandson of Queen Isabella of Castile and her consort King Ferdinand of Aragón. As Charles V he had been elected Holy Roman Emperor and had succeeded to the great Burgundian inheritance of the Low Countries and to the kingdom of Naples: a legacy which was to divide the political and religious map of Europe, and would in time witness Spain's hegemony of the New World.

The realm which the young Austrian Prince Charles of Habsburg inherited from his Spanish mother – a recluse who was confined for most of her life because of her insanity – was a land steeped in another legacy, that of its past Arab and Judaic cultures, the last remnants of which had been symbolically exorcised with the surrender of the kingdom of Granada in 1492. It was the same year that his grandmother's Genoese Admiral Columbus (Cristóbal Colón) had discovered the New World. In the eighth century possibly as many as a million Arabs and North African Berbers had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and settled in the Iberian Peninsula, of which three-quarters was under Muslim rule by the eleventh century, populated not only by Christians but by a large urban Jewish community. It was a land divided as much by its geographical contrasts as by its racial distinctions.

Only in the mid-thirteenth century had its Christian armies re-established its former Visigoth capital, at Toledo. The reconquered territories were placed under the protection of *encomiendas*, lands entrusted by the Crown to families of old Christian lineage, *Cristianos viejos*, and held in lieu of feudal service. Evangelical as well as territorial in its purpose, it was a system that would dominate the social structure of a vanquished people, destroying both their identity and traditions, and which would serve as the template upon which Spain's colonial settlement in the New World would later be modelled – and which would, in effect, become a licence for Native slavery and a reward for their conquistadores.

The fate of the country's Jews had followed a similar course of persecution. In 1492, the tax returns of Castile, whose kingdom comprised three-quarters of the Peninsula's populace of an estimated 7 million people, record some 70,000 Jews, almost half of whom would refuse to accept conversion and face exile in Portugal or North Africa.¹⁰ Those who remained, known as *conversos*, as in previous centuries, would be assimilated into a society governed by the tenets of a religious Inquisition, in which they would face the stigma of their race in the proofs of *limpieza*

de sangre, racial purity – an unjust and cruel anachronism that was perpetuated well into the nineteenth century. Even St Teresa of Ávila, venerated by king and courtier alike, never disclosed the ignominy shown her grandfather, a *converso*, who had been publicly flogged in Toledo at an *auto-da-fé* for his apostasy. Paradoxically, much of the New World's expeditionary armadas, among them Columbus's early voyages, were financed by *conversos* in Seville and Cádiz.

The empire embraced a widely divergent people, ranging from the largest component, the mainly destitute peasantry governed by its Church and feudal nobility, which owned 95 per cent of the land, to a small urban middle class comprising tradesmen, artisans and clerks, many of them incorporated in the *Hermandades*, guilds dependent on the Crown for their privileges. The *hidalgo* – *hijo de algo*, son of a man of rank – represented the untitled nobility which for generations had served the Crown as soldiers – as in the case of Pizarro's father, a minor *hidalgo* – or as warrior monks in the military Orders modelled on the crusading Orders of the Holy Land.

Bound by their distinct codes of chivalry, the *hidalgos* had traditionally derived their livelihood from the booty of war and from the rents of their small country estates, regarding trade and any form of commerce as below their dignity, an attitude that brought many of them to penury, and which Cervantes was to satirise in the character of the *hidalgo* Don Quixote de la Mancha. Some were landless and lived in townships or in the garrison castles of the Orders: Calatrava, founded in 1158 for the defence of Toledo by Ramón Serra, Benedictine abbot of the Navarre monastery of Santa María de Fitero; Alcántara, founded in about 1170 for the defence of Extremadura; and Montesa, founded in 1317 by King James II of Aragón as the result of the disbanding of the Knights Templar, whose lands he acquired.

The Order of Santiago to which Pizarro had been appointed a knight commander had been founded in about 1160 and was the most prominent of all the Christian military Orders, owning some quarter of a million acres of land. It had been established by knights of León for the protection of pilgrims to the shrine of St James the Apostle, at Compostela in Galicia, where, according to tradition, his body was buried. Proclaimed patron of Spain and its armies because of his legendary apparition at the Battle of Clavijo in the ninth century, his image as *Santiago mata moros*, slayer of Moors, mounted on a white charger and in full armour would emblazon one

side of Pizarro's banner of the Conquest. St James's emblem of the cockleshell owes its origin to the legend that at Clavijo a Christian knight discovered his chain mail studded with cockles after making his escape across the River Ebro: a symbol that became synonymous with pilgrimage to his shrine at Compostela and to that other great Christian shrine at Mont St Michel in Normandy, in honour of St Michael the Archangel, and whom Pizarro would later name as patron of his settlement of San Miguel de Piura. With the demise of Muslim Spain the Orders would witness the end of their crusading role, their lands and wealth prey to the political and financial demands of the Crown. It would also witness the demise of the *hidalgo* as a crusader knight, relegating him to the romances of a bygone age, and his title to a mere appendage of nobility.

It was an image of knighthood to which few of Pizarro's volunteers aspired; though many of the methods they would later employ in their colonisation mirrored their country's reconquest from Muslim rule, in which their fathers and grandfathers had served. Theirs would be a crusade clothed in the mantle of the Church and a purpose aptly described by the conquistadore chronicler of Mexico, Bernal Díaz del Castillo: 'to serve God and His Majesty, to give enlightenment to those in darkness, and to share in the riches for which all men search'.¹¹

The dream of the wealth of the New World, inspired by the tales of the returning conquistadores of Mexico and the islands of the Caribbean, had gripped the imagination of the entire country. Between the years 1520 and 1539 some thirteen thousand men and seven hundred women sailed for the New World: townsmen, merchants and yeomen, some of their names hispanicised to hide their *converso* origins; prostitutes and penniless daughters of government officials; friars of the Orders of St Dominic and Merced, driven by the zeal of their mission or charged to live out their penances in the exile of an unknown world; former criminals and conscripts of the Italian wars; peasants and *hidalgos* with only their black capes to hide their penury, queuing in their hundreds for their passage to the Indies and the fortunes each believed awaited them. It was a dream few would ever realise.

It is not known when Pizarro left his native town, nor even the length of time he had stayed there. The town's council had regarded his presence of such little importance that there is no official mention of him in any of its

records, though the price of wheat and pigs for the season, and the repair of the town's clock, are noted in detail.¹² The journey south to the port city of Seville, possibly towards the end of the autumn of 1529, would have taken almost a week to complete along the road to the Roman city of Mérida. The men, many of them barefoot, followed the column of horsemen, mules and carts, and the small herd of pigs Hernando Pizarro is recorded to have brought with him, towards the distant farmlands and orange groves of southern Extremadura and its fortress town of Jerez de los Caballeros, once the fiefdom of the Templars. The town had been the birthplace of Núñez de Balboa and of the slaver Hernando de Soto, who would command Pizarro's cavalry in the conquest. From there, the caravan would have headed due south to the great plain of Seville, its full contingent by then numbering only thirty-six men.

Pizarro's volunteers would have camped outside Seville's walls, setting their tents near the livestock of goats, pigs, mules and horses they had brought with them, and where they would have been prey to any number of wandering bands of brigands that thrived by attacking the unsuspecting caravans of would-be Indies colonists, most of whom carried all their worldly possessions with them. Pizarro had only received a fraction of the money he had asked for from the Crown's treasurers at Toledo, and which had been mostly in the form of a loan. His purpose was to obtain not only the authority from Seville's officials of its Casa de la Contratación, Custom House, for permission to leave the port, but to fit out his expedition and purchase ships, and to raise the 150 volunteers from Spain stipulated in his *Capitulación* of conquest.¹³

One of the few contemporary descriptions of Seville was left by the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero, who had visited the city three years previously for the emperor's marriage to the Portuguese Infanta Doña Isabel, held in the old Moorish palace of the Alcázar:

The city is set in a plain on the left bank of the Guadalquivir river, its circumstance is some four or five miles, and resembles more an Italian city than a Spanish one; its streets are wide and elegant, though the greater part of its houses are not so fine; even though there are some palaces whose beauty cannot be rivalled in all Spain, in which there are numerous gardens ... There are some fine churches, especially its cathedral, which is beautiful and far larger than the cathedral at Toledo,

though not so richly decorated ... its patio is planted with orange trees of great beauty, at the centre of which is a fountain; around the entire building there is a market place, enclosed by chains, whose steps descend into the street; here all day hidalgos, merchants and passers-by assemble, for it is the most lively place in all the city ...

In the street and adjoining square a great number of people can be found, and where many thefts take place and rogues abound, and which is also a type of market place; the square is both wide and large. Beside the cathedral is a bell tower of much beauty, with fine bells; to reach its top one climbs a ramp, and not stairs as at the tower of St Mark's in Venice, though the climb is comfortable and steady [Giralda Tower].

Not very far from the cathedral is the Alcázar, which is the palace that once belonged to the Moorish kings and very beautiful, its masonry richly decorated in the style of the Moors, and with magnificent marble and fountains, the waters of which pass through various chambers and bath houses. It has a patio filled with orange and lemon trees, and gardens of the greatest beauty, among which there is a wood of only orange trees, where not even the sun can penetrate, and which is possibly the most beautiful sight in all Spain. The Casa de la Contratación is also situated in the city, and to which are brought all the goods and produce from overseas, for no shipping is allowed to unload in any other port.¹⁴

Shortly before her death, the emperor's grandmother, Queen Isabella of Castile, had awarded the city the sole right to administer and regulate Spain's American empire, establishing the Casa de la Contratación, which also served as its school for mariners and pilots. Among those who studied there were cartographers and ship builders, some of whom had received their early training at the Portuguese naval academy at Lisbon, founded by King Henry the Navigator, responsible for Portugal's great maritime discoveries. Sailors and soldiers of fortune from every region of Spain had over the years made their way into its tiled and mosaic-floored chambers, in what had once been a palace of the city's Almoravid Muslim dynasty, situated behind the Alcázar. Even the maps required by Magellan, who circumnavigated the world in the years 1519 to 1522, had been submitted to its authority. 'So many men abandon the city to seek their fortune in the New World,' Navagero recorded, 'it is virtually in the possession of its women.' It was a scarcity that would plague Pizarro's attempts to find

volunteers in a city that had shown him little hospitality on his arrival from the New World, and where for a short time he had been imprisoned because of a debt it was claimed he owed an Indies veteran who had denounced him.

Within three months three ships were purchased and provisioned by Pizarro: the *Santiago*, the *Trinidad* and the *San Antonio*. One hundred and twenty Spanish volunteers, horses, mules, mastiffs, goats and pigs boarded the vessels. Among the new recruits was his other half-brother, Pedro de Alcántara, his mother's son, whom he had also met only recently for the first time, and the treasurer appointed by the Crown, Alonso de Riquelme. Six Dominican friars made up the contingent of missionaries the Crown had also ordered should accompany the expedition, including the 28-year-old Extremaduran Fray Vicente de Valverde.

The ever present threat that the Contratación would prevent their departure, due to their inability to raise the stipulated number of volunteers, forced Pizarro to sail ahead on a skiff from San Lúcar de Barrameda, Seville's port of entry into the Atlantic, leaving his brother Hernando and Candía to deal with the authorities. Eventually, they too were able to slip anchor and, under cover of darkness, follow him out to sea. It was January 1530.

It was the third time Pizarro had sailed across the Atlantic, and each time he would have sensed its endless solitude and its vast expanse, which within an hour could change in colour and shape, its calm turned to grey, and its seas rising like mountains, breaking across the fragile wooden decks of his ships, and scattering his few frightened horses and animals, some of which would have been lost overboard. The small flotilla took a route by then well established for crossing the Atlantic: of some thirty days to the Canary and Windward Islands, where they would have taken on fresh water and food, and a further twenty days to the Caribbean port of Nombre de Dios in the Isthmus of Panama. It was the route the Isthmian Governor Don Pedro Arias Dávila, a *converso*, had himself taken when he had led an armada of 17 ships and 2,000 men in the conquest of the Isthmus fifteen years earlier, piloted by Juan Vespucci, nephew of the Florentine navigator Amerigo whose name would be given to the continent of the New World.

Spain's right to lay claim to the Indies had been established by the Valencian Pope Alexander VI in his bull *Inter Caetera*, issued in May 1493 in Castile's favour and amended a year later to include Portuguese rights of

conquest – 300 miles to the east of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. During his tenure as governor of the Pacific port of Panama, whose colony he had founded in 1519 as the settlement of Our Lady of the Assumption, Arias Dávila had succeeded in exploring and conquering its tropical terrain and its westerly regions of Nicaragua and Veragua, an enterprise in which lesser men would certainly have failed. A veteran of the reconquest of Granada, he had imposed his authority on a ruthless and often corrupt administration, and had not flinched from ordering the execution of Núñez de Balboa, his own son-in-law, on a charge of sedition, and whose capture had been carried out by Pizarro.

As mentioned, it is a period of Pizarro's early life for which there are virtually no known sources other than a few references by his great detractor and enemy the chronicler Fernández de Oviedo; he claimed that not only did Pizarro betray Núñez de Balboa to Arias Dávila, but that he played a full part in his capture and hanging. Whatever the truth of Pizarro's involvement in Balboa's death, and irrespective of Oviedo's animosity towards him, what is certain is that for several years Pizarro served the elderly Arias Dávila, a sadistic psychopath and one of the most bloodthirsty individuals ever to have governed Spain's colonies, as one of his militia captains, acting under his orders in the Isthmian Indian wars and slave trade.

In the years of his governorship Arias Dávila had transformed what had been little more than an outpost on the borders of the great Mayan empire of Central America into one of the most lucrative settlements in the Indies. The commodity that had enabled him to achieve his ends was neither the by then diminishing deposits of gold from which the Isthmus had earned its name – Castilla del Oro – nor the spices its early explorers had believed existed in its hinterland, but the human gold of slavery. In an age when scholars at the universities of Salamanca and Bologna were deliberating the theological implications of recognising the natives of the New World as human beings, while others were advocating the theory that they were one of the lost tribes of Israel, under the guise of an evangelising mission slaves would become the labour force supplying Spain's colonial wealth.

Queen Isabella of Castile had prohibited the enslavement of the Isthmians unless they were prisoners of war – a code to which her grandson Charles V would also in principle adhere – but it was an interdict that would never be implemented with any rigour, nor possess any real validity.

Its irrelevance had been marked even further by the introduction of the *encomienda* system, which would be far more apparent in its function as a slave labour force than in its other manifestation, in the Muslim land enclosures of southern Spain, whose subject people would rise in rebellion in the later part of the century. It was a trade from which both the Crown and the colonists would acquire their principal revenue, augmented over time by the importation of Africans from Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, and a means of organisation which would eventually dominate the society and economy of Central America and the Caribbean.

The natives of the early Spanish settlements, moreover, faced an even greater threat to their survival – their vulnerability to disease imported from Europe and Africa, principally smallpox. Within the space of fifty years, nine-tenths of the indigenous people of Mexico, Central and Andean America would be wiped out by the epidemic.¹⁵ Syphilis, which had been introduced into Spain by Columbus's mariners, and which had spread to King Ferdinand's army in Italy between the years 1494 and 1495, had also taken its toll on the lives of the Isthmian colonists: its name derived from an allegorical poem, written c. 1520 by a physician from Verona, Girolamo Fracastoro. The work describes the odyssey of an explorer in search of King Solomon's mines who discovers a tribe in the Indies stricken by a disease given them by a shepherd called Syphilus.

The most authoritative account of Pizarro's return to the Isthmus and of the events that took place there was left by his young kinsman Pedro Pizarro:

Finally we arrived at the port of Nombre de Dios, where Don Diego de Almagro had come to meet us, but once he learnt that Don Francisco Pizarro had not brought him the joint command of their future governorship, even though His Majesty had not wished to do so in order to have one single commander, he told Don Francisco that the money and provisions he had collected during his absence were his as he had already spent his share in his voyage to Spain; and this also was said by the priest Luque, because the bishopric he had asked for himself had not been awarded him; ignoring that His Majesty had first desired to be informed of his character before making such an appointment. And for all these various reasons we were left in great deprivation, and even some of our

men died; and for the time it was impossible to continue with our expedition.¹⁶

In the small shanty harbour township of Nombre de Dios, Pizarro's reunion with his two partners was so heated it could well have led to their deaths. It was they who had helped finance his journey to Spain; in return he was to have secured for them at court an equal share of the honours and privileges for their discovery and right of conquest. Pedro Pizarro, who patently disliked Almagro, described him as 'a profane man, foul mouthed, and who when roused to anger maltreated those around him, even if they were gentlemen; physically strong, he was a brave fighter and popular, a spendthrift though miserly in rewarding his men'.¹⁷ Almagro's background was equally as humble as Pizarro's and he had at one time been the foreman of his encomienda. Disfigured by the loss of an eye from an Indian javelin wound and by the facial warts that scarred the bearded features of many of the early colonists, he had been born in the township of his name in the Mancha of Castile, and had lived in Panama for almost as long as Pizarro. An Indian tracker by trade, it was said that 'he could follow an Indian through the thickest of forests merely by tracing his tracks, and in the event the Indian might have a league's advantage on him, yet would he catch up with him'.¹⁸ Not much is known about the priest Hernando de Luque. An Andalusian who had spent many years in the Isthmus and Caribbean islands, though only a schoolmaster by profession he had accumulated a considerable fortune, possibly as a trader or by ignoring the prevalent promiscuity of the colonists in exchange for commercial favours.

Though Pedro Pizarro may well have exaggerated the plight of his comrades by claiming that several of them had died of hunger owing to the sudden departure of Almagro and Luque, taking with them the money they had gathered for financing the expedition of conquest during Pizarro's year-long absence, the situation in which Pizarro found himself was unenviable. Not only did he face the near mutiny of his own men, but he had to contend with the opportunism of the port's merchants and traders in securing sufficient funds from the sale of his ships in order to transport his small army across the Isthmus.

Eventually Pizarro was able to settle his affairs in the port and make the long trek across the Isthmus with his men to Panama. It was a journey travellers would record even into the eighteenth century as being both

hazardous and unhealthy: the dirt road virtually hidden by jungle and swamp, its staging inns infested with mosquitoes and vermin, places where travellers, rich and poor alike, had no choice but to pay the extortionate charges in exchange for the paltry food and accommodation provided them. The port and township of Panama was itself little more than a stockade of wooden buildings and huts lying at the edge of the Pacific Ocean. Its small central square was filled with traders, many of them barefoot and dressed in taffeta and lace; accompanied by their Indian women they would sell to one another for the labour of their land or the solace of their sexuality. It was a world in which the senses were overwhelmed by the colour and sounds of its tropical vegetation, of exotic fruit and cane alcohol, parrots, and caged monkeys, and by the handfuls of African slaves, who had also made the long trek across the Isthmus from the caravels that had transported them from the Caribbean islands.

It was a world, however, that showed little prospect of gain for Pizarro's disgruntled volunteers who with every passing week witnessed their hopes dwindle in the lengthy and often acrimonious meetings their commander and his brother held with Almagro, without whose support and money the expedition would founder. Pedro Pizarro recalled:

On a number of occasions Don Francisco and Don Diego de Almagro met; and on one of these occasions, when Hernando Pizarro was taken ill, Almagro went to visit him, and discussing the provisioning of the expedition Hernando told him that he wished he were able to afford a horse for his two squires whom he had brought with him, and Almagro told him not to preoccupy himself with this for he would find each of the squires Juan Cortés and [Alonso de] Toro a horse. But this he never honoured, and for this reason Hernando Pizarro spoke very ill of him, calling him a 'son of a whore', and other such insults. I have wished to mention this event so that the origin and cause be known of so much ill-feeling that has resulted in the future wars and killing of so many of Pizarro's and Almagro's men ... And matters being as they were, it came to pass that Hernando Ponce de León, an encomendero of Nicaragua, came to this port of Panama with two of his ships laden with slaves to sell, and which belonged to him and to his partner Hernando de Soto. Hernando Pizarro then spoke to Ponce and persuaded him to loan us his two ships, for our greatest need was ships. Hernando Ponce agreed to

this, though at a great price, securing for himself and for his partner Soto an award of the finest land in the territory we would conquer, and for his partner Soto the command and the governorship of its principal city. To all this Pizarro and his brother agreed. And seeing what had been arranged, and realising that the expedition could be mounted, Almagro decided to reach an accord with Pizarro and his brother, even though with much ill will on both sides, as future events would demonstrate.¹⁹

Pizarro saw the arrangement with the two slavers as the last opportunity he would have to comply with his warrant of conquest. Past insults and hurt pride were also put aside by the two former partners, and once more the contract they had originally made between themselves and Luque was revived. So too were honoured the provisos Pizarro had secured at Toledo. In the eyes of some of Panama's officials the agreement made between the two elderly slavers appeared almost comical, as they distributed honours, natives and lands between them, without ever contemplating the possible failure of their expedition. It was an opinion held generally among the traders of Panama, most of whom, other than Gaspar de Espinosa, had refused to invest in the expedition. Some are recorded as having sold horses and even armour and swords to the volunteers at exorbitant rates of interest, which in the event of their deaths would be collected from the few sureties they were able to muster.

Almagro and Luque secured the basic provisions for the expedition and for the transportation of the artillery, horses and African slaves who had been sent by the Crown's officials from Jamaica and Cuba to Nombre de Dios. A third and much smaller group of volunteers under the command of another Nicaraguan slaver Sebastián de Belalcázar was also contracted by the use of Almagro and Luque's gold. However, having been ill for some time, Almagro decided to remain behind in Panama to recruit a second armada of reinforcements to serve under his own command. Of these men Almagro would later enlist many in the neighbouring provinces of Nicaragua and Veragua, accompanied by Nicolás de Ribera. Luque was to die almost two years later, shortly after Almagro's departure from Panama with his army of reinforcements and ignorant of the outcome of their venture.

In the last week of 1530 the first of the three caravels that would transport the 180 men and horses of Pizarro's expeditionary force shed its

mooring and sailed out of Panama's small harbour, calling to mind the words of one of its volunteers: 'When in ancient or modern times has so great an enterprise been undertaken by so few against so many odds, and to so varied a climate and seas, and at such distances, to conquer the unknown?'²⁰

TWO

The Conquest of Paradise

Those who had accompanied Francisco Pizarro on his first expedition to the coast refused to come, claiming that it was a god-forsaken land.

The foot soldier Diego de Trujillo

At first Pizarro had imagined the Inca realm of Tahuantinsuyo to be a small mountain kingdom, trading in gold; in fact, it was part of a vast empire and civilisation of some 12 million subject peoples, stretching from north of the equator across the cordillera of the Andes as far south as the Pacific littoral of Chile, and as far east as the rain forests of the Amazon. Its frontiers had been established by military conquest in less than a hundred years by a hereditary nobility of the Quéchua tribe of Cuzco, known as Inca, who by force of arms had come to dominate the central Andean cordillera, imposing on the conquered tribes a cult of sun worship, a deity from whom they claimed to derive their divine origin.

The civilisations whose surviving vestiges the Quéchua had inherited had left only the remnants of their monuments and artwork to mark their existence: the Chavín of the central Andes (1200–400 bc), the image of whose puma god adorned their pottery and stone structures; the Nazca of the mid-Pacific coast lands (ad 400–1000), whose religious iconography was depicted in the giant linear earth carvings of sacred animals, insects and birds; and the Tiahuanacu of the highland plateau on the southern shores of Lake Titicaca from the same period, whose monolithic buildings and monuments had been erected some thousand years before the advent of the Quéchua. Of all the ancient Andean cultures the Tiahuanacu, a military religious community, exerted the greatest influence on the evolution of their people. All that remains of Tiahuanacu's former lake city, part of which lies under the colonial township of that name, near the modern-day Bolivian city of La Paz, are its ruined wall enclosures, giant stone figures and Gateway of the Sun.

The lake of Titicaca, situated 12,725 feet above sea level and covering an area of some 3,500 square miles, bordering Peru and Bolivia, had been the spiritual epicentre of Tiahuanacu and was held sacred by the Quéchuas as the birthplace of the progenitors of their dynasty, Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo, children of the sun and of the moon. Pedro Pizarro recalled that 'these Indians claim that the first of their lords came from an island of Titicaca ... and where they kept an idol of a woman, life-size and of medium height, and which from the waist upwards was of solid gold, and from the waist down, of pure silver, and which I saw when it was brought [to Cuzco]'.¹

It was also the region from where the Quéchuas bards whom the conquistadores interviewed recorded the existence in their legends of white-bearded gods, known to them as Viracocha, and it was because of these that the Quéchuas had at first believed the conquistadores to have themselves been gods. The chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León recorded that when he visited the ruins at Tiahuanacu he had asked the Indians there whether the lake city had been built during the time of the Incas, 'but that they had laughed at him, saying they had been told by their forebears it had been constructed overnight from one day to the other, and that they had seen bearded white men on one of the islands of Titicaca ... and that its buildings were the oldest in antiquity in all Peru ... for I had heard it said by many Indians that the Incas constructed their palaces in Cuzco in their form and manner, and it was where they first held court, here at Tiahuanacu.'²

The Spanish missionaries were to capitalise on the legend by equating Viracocha, also known as Thunupa, with a bearded Andean Christ, and even St Thomas, the apostle of India: an iconography still visible in the colonial mestizo church carvings and paintings of the Cuzco and Titicaca region. The myth of the white man was also evident in the northern Andean region of the Chachapoyas, whose tribesmen were noted by various chroniclers to be as white as any Spaniard, a phenomenon which may prove a far earlier connection between Andean America and the Caucasian world.

Archaeology has established the traces of Inca government in the Huatanay valley at Cuzco in the central Andes c. ad 1200. The Inca would subsequently extend their control across the southern and northern cordillera, introducing to their subject tribes a totalitarian system of government and a social structure based on communal wealth. Though

possessing neither the wheel nor the written word, through their skill as masons and their grasp of engineering, their road building and collective system of farming, their craftsmanship of exquisite metalwork, textiles and pottery, their understanding of astronomy and medicine, and in the oral traditions of their poetry, they created one of the greatest civilisations in the Americas.

It was a regime as enlightened in its social welfare as it was despotic in its adherence to the totalitarian rule of its Inca nobility and emperor. It also shared with other Amerindian civilisations, such as the Maya of Central America and the Aztec of Mexico, the practice of human sacrifice, to which a few of Pizarro's surviving conquistadores would attest at an inquiry held in Cuzco almost half a century after the Conquest:

[The Incas] instructed them [their subject tribes] in the veneration of their idols of the sun and of the stars, teaching them how to make sacrifices in the mountains and holy places of each province ... forcing them to kill their sons and daughters to this effect ... and to sacrifice their women and servants, so that they could serve them in the afterlife ...³

As in pre-Christian Europe, the Inca practice of human sacrifice was in effect a ritual worship of nature and part of a code of religious conduct pervading every aspect of their lives, and of the laws by which they lived. The Jesuit mestizo chronicler Blas Valera's record ranges from the detailed instructions given for each province to supply artisans and agricultural workers for its sustenance, to how its land was to be distributed, to the punishments to be meted out to adulterers, rapists and thieves – in most cases sentence of death. It was a society whose practices and organisation were integrally linked to the spiritual life of its people and their belief in the supernatural: a world with which they communicated in their worship of nature and venerated in their huacas, holy places, of their mountains and valleys, and which brought them into communion with an invisible world.

The mystical pre-eminence of their capital at Cuzco, cocooned in a valley 10,500 feet above sea level, was reflected in the person of their emperor, and maintained in the afterlife by the panacas, houses of the dead, of each emperor, the living shrine to his immortality. Each emperor in his lifetime established his panaca in one of the city's palaces, numbering some thousand of his relatives and attendants, who after his death would oversee

his personal wealth and lands. At the time of the Conquest there were eleven panacas venerated at Cuzco, to which all the princes and higher nobility belonged through their maternal or paternal descent. Membership entitled them to privileges and a prestige among the Quéchuas and their subject tribes which the conquistador Mansio Serra de Leguizamón compared to the status enjoyed by the nobility of his homeland:

They were people of great importance, great lords and sons of kings, who governed this realm. And as such they ruled at the time I entered in the discovery of this kingdom and witnessed the Incas command and govern this land ... for the term Inca is what we would call in Spain lords of vassals, dukes and counts, and other such gentlemen of that kind ... and being as they were absolute rulers they ordered and received tribute, and this is known and is publicly held, and which this witness himself knows, for it is what I saw with my own eyes ... for they were persons of great knowledge and by the government they held, though possessing no written word, they ruled like the Romans in ancient times.⁴

The subject tribes and communities possessed a similar form of government through their *ayllus*, clans, and in the veneration of their ancestors: spirits whom they believed would appear as sparks in the fires of their hearths, or in their huacas, guarded by the spirits of mountains, trees, water and stones. Even in death it was a society governed by order and contained within an earthly structure that bound the supernatural to the world of the living.

The Inca lords, whom the conquistadores would call *orejones* because of the gold ear ornaments they wore, were trained as governors of the provinces or as commanders of the imperial army, their function either to expand the borders of the empire or to suppress the various tribal rebellions that would continue unabated even after the arrival of the Spaniards. The lesser blood tie of Inca lords, among them tribal leaders from other nations, who were granted the privilege and status of Incas, were the administrators of their government, supervising the maintenance of the empire's roads which covered an area of some 14,000 square miles. They were also responsible for overseeing the *tambos*, rest houses, fortresses and toll bridges, and the distribution of the empire's tribute: the crops, minerals, materials and clothing stored in the warehouses, and accounted for by the

quipucamayoc, recorders, on their quipu, coloured string chords, which were used for numeration and to record astronomical and magical formulae. The conquistadores recalled that their knowledge of how to use this device had been passed down from father to son for some three hundred years, and that the quipu also chronicled Inca genealogies and historical events, the quantity of crops and every article that was transported or stored in the warehouses, and even the measurements of the construction of buildings, ‘something that merits great admiration and is difficult to believe for those who have not examined them, or witnessed their usage ...’⁵

Trains of llamas transported the empire’s produce on the four principal stone paved roads that led to and from Cuzco: the Chinchasuyo to the north, the Cuntisuyo to the west, the Antisuyo to the east, and the Collasuyo to the south. All told, some two hundred thousand people contained in an area of some 40 square miles helped sustain the life of the Inca capital and the administration of its provinces; in the words of an anonymous conquistadore who had settled in the Collasuyo region of Bolivia:

In each of their provinces the Incas had governors, ruling with great account and order ... there were others of lesser rank who were known as *sayapayas*: inspectors who gathered the ordinances of the Inca and of the realm, visiting the storehouses and herds [of llamas] that belonged to the sun and to Inca. And they would also inspect the *mamacona* [virgins of the sun] and the veneration and sacrifices they would offer the sun and to the huacas, which were the idols they worshipped. In each village were located storehouses of every item and produce ... for laziness and vagabondage was severely punished, and all laboured in the produce of these goods; and in the lands where maize was unable to grow, storehouses of *chuño* [dehydrated potatoes] were kept, as were other produce from each region, none of which were consumed unless in times of war or need: then they would be distributed with great order ... the Inca [lords] who would visit the governors of the provinces would be received with great honour, as if they were the Inca [emperor] himself, and they would be informed of all the labour commanded of the people ... and those [caciques] who had served the Incas well would be rewarded with women and servants, livestock and fine clothing, and be granted the privilege of being carried in litters or hammocks, and be given *yanaconas* [servants] for that purpose; they would also be given the

right to use parasols and be served with bowls and plates of gold and silver: something no one could make use of without the authority of the Inca ... these privileges would also be granted them when they came to Cuzco each year with their tribute from as far as Chile or the Charcas ... in the month and moon of May, which was known as Aymorayquilla, all the principal caciques from the different *suyos* would assemble before the emperor in the great square of Cuzco with their tribute of gold, silver, clothing, livestock ... and also their tribute of women ... after which they would hold their feasting and perform their ceremonies and sacrifices ...⁶

The chronology and accounts of the reign of the Emperor Huayna Cápac, whose death probably occurred in 1527,⁷ and of the subsequent wars of succession to his empire are full of ambiguity and contradiction in the Spanish chronicles, none of whose authors were witness to the events they recorded. All their accounts were dependent on the testimony of the *amauta*, bards, and quipucamayoc they each interviewed in turn over the years at Cuzco. God and man to his people, Huayna Cápac had brought his dynasty to the pinnacle of its power. Though raised in Cuzco he had been born at Tumibamba, the future site of the Ecuadorian city of Cuenca, and had spent much of his life campaigning to expand and secure the frontiers of his empire. Only in the latter part of his reign did he move his court from Cuzco to Quito, north of his retreat of Tumibamba, which he had named in honour of his panaca. Most chroniclers record that the succession to his throne remained in dispute. Though neither primogeniture (the right of the first born) nor legitimacy in the European sense of the word was an established prerequisite for imperial station among the Quéchuas, the purity of the emperor's blood line and a tradition of royal incest established by Huayna Cápac's parents, favoured the succession of the son of a sister-queen.

It was a succession that depended too on the sanction of the Inca High Priest of the Sun, known as the Villaoma, and on the allegiance of the imperial panacas of Cuzco. On the death of his sister-queen the Coya Cusi Rimaq, who was probably the mother of his son Ninancuyochi, the emperor married their younger sister the Coya Rahua Ocllo, already for many years his concubine. (Coya was the title of the sister-queen of the emperor, or of their daughter.) Held in awe by reason of her exceptional beauty and the magnificence of the court over which she presided, she was said to have

been accompanied by a thousand musicians during her travels across the empire. The eldest of their sons was Topa Cusi Huallpa, known as Huáscar, whom the emperor had appointed governor of Cuzco and of his southern domains.

Among the hundreds of other sons and daughters born to the emperor was Atahualpa, whose mother was the emperor's cousin, and who was regarded as his favourite son. Three other sons, all by different women, whose names would feature in the history of the conquest, were the Incas Túpac Huallpa, Manco and Paullu. The chroniclers are unanimous in stating that in the last years of Huayna Cápac's life his empire was devastated by a plague, probably smallpox, which had spread from the northern borders of his realms to as far south as Cuzco. They further record that the epidemic was believed by his shaman to be the retribution of the god Viracocha, and for whose appeasement the human sacrifice of thousands of children was ordered throughout the empire. The Jesuit Bernabé Cobo wrote that in an act of penitence the emperor had gone into seclusion and had fasted in order to bring an end to the suffering of his people, and that during his fast he had seen the ghosts of three dwarfs enter his chamber which he interpreted as a sign of his impending death. The historian Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa also describes in some detail how the emperor then summoned his diviners to guide him in his choice of successor. The carcass of a young llama was brought into his presence and its entrails were read by the High Priest, the Villaoma, who informed him that the auspices for the succession of his son Ninancuyochi were unfavourable. The carcass of a second llama was brought to him, and again the auguries were deemed unfavourable for the succession of his son Huáscar. It was a divination that would never be repeated.

At the emperor's death a thousand of his household servants were sacrificed so that they might serve him in the afterlife, and for ten days the tribes of Quito mourned his passing with the traditional weeping before his body was taken to Tumibamba to be mummified, where the Cañari people who worshipped the moon deity would mourn their sovereign for the length of an entire moon. At Tumibamba the Villaoma offered the throne to Ninancuyochi, but within a few days he too was dead, either poisoned or stricken by smallpox. The little that can be surmised from all the conflicting accounts is that the widowed Coya Rahua Ocllo was instrumental in the Villaoma's subsequent proclamation of her son Huáscar as emperor: an

election welcomed by the panacas of Cuzco who over the years, and to their detriment, had witnessed the growing pre-eminence of their northern empire. Among the dead emperor's sons only Atahualpa, who had the support of his father's northern warrior armies, and who was then possibly twenty-seven years old, five years older than Huáscar, would excuse himself from travelling south to Cuzco to render his brother homage.

Within a few weeks the cortège with the emperor's mummified body began its 1,200 mile journey south to Cuzco. Bound in white cloth, the mummy was carried on a throne litter by his principal lords and accompanied by the litters of the Coya Rahua Ocllo and her retinue. The procession travelled on the great Chinchasuyo road that separated the coastal plains and the cordillera, from where its progress was reported to the new emperor by the *chasqui*, relays of runners, who could cover the entire distance the cortège would travel in less than five days. To the traditional wailing of women mourners, their breasts exposed in demonstration of their grief, the caravan of litters and armed warriors with their baggage train of yanacona porters and llamas made its ascent into the cordillera along its stone-terraced roads and canyon valleys. At the mountain rest house of Limatambo, where the party had encamped for several days, the Coya Rahua Ocllo was summoned by her son to travel ahead to Cuzco. Some time after her departure the retinue of Inca princes and lords was set upon and massacred. A reprisal for what he believed to have been his relatives' complicity in Atahualpa's refusal to render him homage, it was an act for which she would never forgive her son. The massacre, chronicled by most of the early Spanish accounts, would add to the resentment they also recorded by the lords of Cuzco at their new emperor's decision to appropriate the panaca lands and wealth, and which would unite many of them in siding with Atahualpa's eventual rebellion.

Within a year the Inca realm of Tahuantinsuyo was rent by a civil war in which tens of thousands of its people were killed, and which led to the sacking of the city of Tumibamba by Atahualpa's armies and the massacre of its Cañari inhabitants. The war between the two brothers was finally brought to an end by the capture of the young emperor on the outskirts of Cuzco. Imprisoned in a wooden cage, he was forced to watch as nearly all the members of his panaca and his young sister-queen were put to death, their bodies subsequently impaled along the northern approach road to what had once been his imperial capital. His shoulders twisted by ropes, he was

taken by Atahualpa's warrior chiefs Quisquis and Chalcuchima to the mountain hamlet of Andamarca, south of Cajamarca. There, above the waters of a river, together with his mother, Huáscar was killed. In less than four years the Inca realm of Tahuantinsuyo had virtually dismembered itself, and through the circumstances of a cruel fate had laid itself open to its final and inevitable destruction by the small army of Pizarro's conquistadores who had disembarked on its northern shore.

Diego de Trujillo was probably twenty-seven years old when Pizarro's small armada sailed towards the northern Pacific coast of South America. In old age he recalled the events of those early days. More than those of any other conquistadore, his words evoke the hardships, hunger and fears of his companions, young men more accustomed to toiling in the fields of their poverty-stricken villages than wielding a sword or pike.

In the first days of the year 1531, some two hundred and fifty of us Spaniards [including African and Isthmian slaves], among them three Dominican friars, Fray Reginaldo, Fray Vicente de Valverde and Fray Juan, set sail from the island of Pearls [an island in the Bay of Panama noted for its pearl fishing] piloted by Bartolomé Ruiz; and with fine weather we reached the Bay of San Mateo in six days. We stayed ten days at the bay to rest ourselves, and many Indians came down its river in canoes to observe us, though unwilling to land. The region is mountainous and there are frequent rain storms, and much fruit can be found, such as guavas and caymitos.

On leaving the bay we came to a village some four leagues away which had been deserted, and which was called Catamez. There also we found guavas and plums and some freshwater wells, where we drank and drew water in seashells. It rained a lot and there were a great many mosquitoes. We then made our way to a large village along the coast called Canceví, and which was also abandoned, and where we found many earthenware pots and fishing nets. We also found maize in the fields, which we ate, even though it was young: for we were in dire need of food. Nor was there any fresh water there, which we much needed.

As we had no native guide who knew the land, and who could have shown us where to rest and set up our encampment, the Governor [Pizarro] sent the Captain Escobar into the mountains to see whether he

could find someone to guide us, and I accompanied him. We came to a dry waterless gully, where we noticed some smoke, and we stayed there till dawn in the hope of finding a village. It rained so heavily in the night that the gully was flooded, and one of our men was drowned. The rest of us managed to escape by swimming.

Finally we came to a village, where we found three or four Indians. They had slung their hammocks at the top of some very tall trees, like stork's nests, and were shrieking as if they were cats or monkeys. We captured one of them, but we had no way of understanding what he said. We took him back to our camp and after a fortnight he told us by sign language of the existence of a land ahead, where we would find plenty of food: for that was all at that time we wished to find.

Along that coast we also discovered a waterfall that cascaded into the sea. This made us very content, for we had great need of fresh water. From there we continued our march to the Quiximis rivers, which we crossed on rafts we constructed. Again, we were in much need of food and water as the rivers were of salt water. It was here Bartolomé Ruiz found us with one of our ships, and he sent a longboat out to us with provisions for a meal: of half a jug of maize flour for each man. And after we crossed the rivers, which were each a quarter of a league wide, we found plenty of sweet potatoes and yuca, from which we made cassava bread. There was also an abundance of guava and other such fruits. All of which revived us greatly.

There was another river in this land, further inland than these two, and much wider. There we tied a mare to a raft so that the horses would follow her, and which they did, leaping into the water after her. The men who could not swim were taken on rafts, or by the horses as they swam across, and as we had no pack animals each of us brought with him all his possessions and arms.

After crossing the rivers we went further down the coast. There we ate some crabs that almost poisoned every one of us. It was then we received our first news of Coaque, a large village, rich in gold, silver, emeralds and other precious stones. Even though we were still sickly, that very same night to the sound of our trumpets we made our attack on the village. The cacique was captured and for a while remained our prisoner. We also found a great quantity of white cotton cloth, maize, fruits, and a

herb similar to basil, and chilli peppers. There were several temples in the village with their idols and human-skinned drums. The men of the tribe were strong and war-like. The village possessed some three hundred large huts. The region is humid – there are large snakes and giant toads – and it rains a great deal and there are numerous thunderstorms. Once when we had nothing more to eat some of our men ate a snake. Two of them died, and another man, who had flavoured his portion with garlic, survived but lost all his hair, and was left so ill that it took him a great deal of time to recover his health.

In this village we took eighteen thousand pesos of gold and some silver of poor quality. The Governor then sent Bartolomé Ruiz and Quintero with our two ships to Nicaragua and to Panama, together with the gold he hoped would attract more volunteers to join us. We stayed at Coaque for almost eight months, and in which time many of our men died of sickness and were stricken by verugas [a facial and skin growth that bled and was the size of an egg]. Soon after the ships departed, Pedro Gregorio's barque found us, bringing provisions of dried meat, hams, and cheeses from the Canary islands. He brought also some reinforcements, among them Pedro Díaz, who later settled in Huamanga, and Juan de la Torre, who settled in Arequipa, and who are still alive to this day [1571], all the others who came with him are dead. On the ship that returned from Nicaragua came Sebastián de Belalcázar with some of his men, all of whom are now also dead.

The only person among us who could identify the emeralds we found was the Friar Reginaldo, who collected upwards of a hundred and sewed them in his doublet. He then returned in Pedro Gregorio's barque to Panama where he died. The emeralds were then taken from his effects and sent as a present to his Majesty.

After the arrival of the ships from Panama and Nicaragua we left Coaque, though most of us were again sickly. We then made for the cape of Pasao, and being unable to pass the headland we were forced to clear a path across the mountain to its village, from where we went on to the bay of Carques, where we again suffered greatly because of the lack of fresh water. Here all the sick were put on board our ship which sailed to a village called Charapotó in the province of Puerto Viejo ...

We spent more than two months in the Puerto Viejo area which was rich in maize, fruit and papaya. But the earth is very dry and the sun had turned the soil into broken and withered dust. There are some mountains and chocolate can be found like that of Mexico ... from here the Governor sent Diego Maldonado to Natá to look for fresh water as we were almost all dying of thirst. At first he decided that it would be best to turn back, but Hernando Pizarro was against the idea and for going on ahead, even if it meant risking our lives. An advance guard then discovered a small pool of greenish water which we drank; though some pigs Hernando had brought with him from Panama churned up most of the pool, so that with the exception of the first of us, most of the men drank little more than mud. We then reached the headland of Santa Elena, whose natives had fled in their rafts and canoes with their wives and children, taking with them all their animals. The villages were deserted. Wild dogs could be heard howling in the night, and we gave chase to them, and we were kept alive by eating these animals.

We then came to the straits of Huayna Cápac, so-called because Huayna Cápac crossed them to conquer the island of Puná. Tumbala, the ruler of the island, came out with many men and rafts and welcomed us with great feasting and rejoicing; though we learnt later that the men who steered our rafts intended to untie the cords that held them together when we were in the middle of the straits, so that we might drown. Only the raft carrying the Governor and the ruler of the island was to be left afloat. But their feasting was so excessive that the Governor said to Sebastián de Belalcázar: 'All this seems suspicious to me.' So he asked the ruler and some other of his caciques to stay with him on the mainland, and said he would cross by another way. And so our men made their crossing safely, and the rafts returned to take the Governor and those who had stayed behind with him.

We went ashore at a village called El Tuco. The straits were a league and a half [wide]. And from there we went to the village of El Estero which is on the other side of the island. There we found a tall cross and a small one painted on a door, where hung a small bell. It seemed like a miracle. Out of the house came thirty or more boys and girls shouting 'Jesus Christ be praised! Molina! Molina!' The truth is that at the time of his first voyage of discovery the Governor had left two Spaniards at a place called Payta, one of whom was called Molina, and the other Ginés,

who was killed by the Indians at the village of Cinto for looking at the cacique's woman. Molina had come to the island of Puná, whose Indians protected him against the natives of Chonos and Túmbez. But a month before our arrival he had been killed at sea by the Chonos while he had been fishing; and the people of Puná had been greatly grieved by his death.⁸

Trujillo's account reflected the sorry state of Pizarro's encampment on the island of Puná in the Gulf of Guayaquil, his men disillusioned by what they had seen of the earthly paradise he had promised them. Many of them were confined to their tents and hammocks, stricken by the epidemic of warts, only made worse by the stifling heat and large numbers of mosquitoes and vermin that plagued them incessantly.

On 1 December 1531 two caravels belonging to the slaver Hernando de Soto were sighted, bringing almost a hundred more volunteers from the Nicaraguan port of Posesión. Pedro Pizarro recalled that Soto's men had displayed 'little joy, for they found us in an anguished state ... and most of the men sickly, and no gold for them to see ...'⁹ The disembarkation of the caravels took several hours to complete, the horses and their African handlers swimming alongside the Indian rafts, laden with provisions, following the long line of men and Isthmian women slaves wading to the shore. Among them was Soto's mistress Juana Hernández, reputed to have been the first Spanish woman to set foot on the South American continent.

Hernando de Soto was thirty-one years old. The only known description of him was left by the mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega, who had met a number of men who had served under him, and who wrote that he was 'slightly above medium height with a dark and cheerful countenance', and that he was one of the finest horsemen in the Indies.¹⁰ Dressed in the extravagant manner of the rich Nicaraguan slaver, his ear-lobes adorned with pearls and his coat armour decorated with gold and Indian amulets, Soto cut a dashing figure amid the mainly barefoot and bedraggled men who had waded out to greet him. A superstitious man, it was said he carried on his person some small hand mirrors he believed would foretell his death.¹¹

It was shortly after Soto's landing that Pizarro, who had watched the arrival of the two caravels from the neighbouring peninsula of Santa Elena,

informed him of his decision to deny him the command of the army he had promised him in exchange for the loan of his ships. It was a betrayal Soto would never forgive. As in the case of Almagro, it typified Pizarro's ruthlessness and his desire to consolidate his authority within his own small family circle and that of their dependants. It also demonstrated his brother Hernando's influence: in effect he was second in command of the expedition. Their betrayal of Soto's good faith was viewed with both anger and dismay by the veteran conquistadores who led Hernando's squadrons: men such as Cristóbal de Mena, a veteran of Nicaragua; Juan de Salcedo, who captained the infantry; and Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had also brought a small contingent of horse from the Nicaraguan port of Posesión shortly before Soto's arrival.

Though Hernando Pizarro had obtained a captaincy in the army in the war of Navarre, possibly due to his father's influence, there is little evidence to suggest his military experience, and none as regards the type of fighting against the warlike Native Indians that the seasoned Isthmian captains under his command would undoubtedly encounter. The dissent, however, did not show itself among the rank and file: their loyalty was clearly to Pizarro and his brothers; men such as the Castilian Diego Maldonado would proudly declare in his testimonial that he had been one of the thirty horsemen whom Pizarro had brought with him from Panama.¹²

Few of those by then assembled on the island had had any military experience, and their weaponry was even more inadequate: many of them shared horses and swords; some had only their home-made pikes and shields cobbled together from the wooden staves of discarded wine casks. Most were Andalucians and Castilians. Only 36 of the 168 men that would eventually reach Cajamarca were from Extremadura, and only 58 of them could read or write.¹³ The Dominican Vicente de Valverde, one of the six missionary friars who had joined the expedition in Seville, would be the sole survivor of his brethren.

For a further four months, until the end of the winter rains, Pizarro's small army was forced to remain on the island. The pilot Pedro Ortiz, who had been sent to reconnoitre the southern coast on one of the caravels, recorded that 'after a month and a half or so, the Indians on the island rose up in rebellion', and that Pizarro ordered Soto to deal with the uprising, 'which he did with great courage and loyalty ...'.¹⁴

In the first week of April the entire contingent of men eventually crossed to the mainland aboard Soto's two caravels and Pizarro's remaining ship, accompanied by a small flotilla of canoes and rafts. Three Spaniards were killed by the Indians during the initial stages of the crossing; their naked bodies, skewered and hacked to pieces, were left on the shore for their companions to see, as their scalps fell prey to the small colony of sea crabs. From there, they marched along the coast to the township of Tumbéz, but found it deserted. The ruins of the mud-and-thatch buildings sheltered hundreds of unburied Indian corpses, riddled with flies, and everywhere they encountered the smell of death and human misery. It was the first evidence they encountered of the civil war that was still being waged between the armies of the Emperor Huáscar and Atahualpa.

Tumbéz was also the site where they found the bones of two gigantic human figures, a male and a female, which greatly alarmed the men. The historian Agustín de Zárate stated that 'according to the local Indians, there once lived in that region giants so tall that they were four times the height of an average man. They do not say where they came from, but they lived on the same food as themselves, especially fish, for they were good fishermen. They fished from balsa rafts, each from his own; for though these rafts can carry three horses, they could take no more than one of these giants. They could wade out into the sea to the depth of two and a half fathoms; and they much enjoyed catching sharks and other large fish.' And he concluded with the rather startling revelation, confirmed by various contemporary witnesses, that 'these tales of giants were never entirely believed however, until Captain Juan de Olmos of Trujillo, lieutenant to the Governor of Puerto Viejo in the year 1543, who had heard them, ordered some men to dig in that valley. Here they found ribs and other bones so huge, that had it not been for the skulls that they found no one would have believed that they were human ... and some of their teeth were three fingers wide and four fingers long.'¹⁵

The discovery only heightened the nervousness of Pizarro's men, who had already seen evidence of cannibalism and human sacrifice. In an age when witchcraft was common in their native hamlets and villages, such bizarre manifestations did little to relieve their growing fear. Nothing, it seemed, could raise their spirits, not even the arrival of a provision ship from Nicaragua, bringing a further twenty volunteers. Pedro de Candía, who at Trujillo had openly boasted of the great riches he alone had seen

beyond Túmbez, now became the butt of ridicule: for no gold was to be found. Not even Pizarro's discovery of a note purportedly written by one of the unfortunate men he had left behind on his last voyage, claiming that the land possessed more gold and silver than all the iron of Biscay, lessened their hostility and ill-feeling, or their sense of desolation.

Pizarro had already pardoned his treasurer Alonso de Riquelme for attempting to flee on one of the provision ships. It was the last act of clemency his men would witness. Shortly before leaving the settlement Pizarro ordered the executions of thirteen caciques who had been captured in the vicinity of Túmbez, and who had refused to assist him in transporting his men on to the mainland. They were garrotted and burnt before the entire encampment in reprisal for the deaths of two of his conquistadores. It was as much a demonstration to his own men as to the natives of the coast.

Once more the small contingent of men struck out into the endless swamp and equatorial forest, their leather and steel-coated armour soaked by their sweat, and their bodies burnt by a relentless sun; the slaves and women carrying on their heads the provisions and tents; their horses in the mangroves falling prey to the caymans, their bodies dragged down into the depths of the water pools marked by their blood. Each day their difficulties mounted as they searched desperately for food and fresh water, and struggled against the debilitating effects of the fevers and dysentery from which most of them suffered. It took them almost two months to reach the southern coastal lands of Tangarara, a distance of almost a hundred miles. There Pizarro founded the settlement of San Miguel, in honour of the Archangel St Michael, where he gave orders that the women and the sickly were to remain. Among them was his page Pedro Pizarro.

On 24 September, sixty-two horsemen and one hundred and six foot soldiers with Pizarro at their head left the settlement with some hundred slaves. Their march took them across 70 miles of treeless desert until they reached the village of Serrán. Here, Pizarro again heard reports from the local tribesmen that much of the northern coastal region had surrendered to the armies of the Inca Atahualpa. In order to clarify the situation Pizarro ordered Soto and a squadron of horse to ride inland to Cajas. After riding for two days and a night, stopping only for food and to rest their horses, Soto's forty horsemen finally reached the township. There they made contact with its cacique, and one of the Inca warrior chiefs, who had some

two thousand men under his command. Diego de Trujillo and Cristóbal de Mena, who accompanied Soto, left an account of their journey:

The township was greatly destroyed because of the war and many Indians could be seen hung from the buildings. The Captain [Soto] sent for the cacique of the township and soon he came, complaining bitterly about Atahualpa, and how his warriors had killed so many of his people, some ten or twelve thousand, and that no more than three thousand were left. And he said he had no gold, for Atahualpa's warriors had taken it all; even though he gave us four or five bars of mined gold.

It was then one of Atahualpa's lords came: and the cacique was greatly frightened, and he stood up in his presence, but the Captain made him sit beside him. This lord had brought us a present from Atahualpa of stuffed ducks: and which made us imagine a similar fate; he also brought us two small fortresses made of clay, saying that there were many such as them in his land. There were three houses of women, called *mamaconas*, virgins of the sun. And as we entered their houses and took the women into the square, some five hundred of them, the Captain gave many of them to us Spaniards, something which greatly infuriated the Inca lord, who said: 'How dare you do this? With Atahualpa only twenty leagues from here? Not one of you will be left alive.'¹⁶

There is not one description by an eyewitness of the mass rape of the *mamaconas* by Soto's men; it is recorded only that Soto ordered hisarquebusiers to fire into the air, causing the trembling women to fall to their knees for fear of being killed. Cajas offered the Spaniards the first real indication of the grandeur of the empire they had come to conquer: its streets and buildings, though gutted and burnt, were built of stone and laid out in an orderly and geometric manner, with the large square and temple forming a central point. The rich dress and evident authority of the Inca lord were a far cry from the primitive clothing of the caciques of the coastal region, whose villages were constructed of wood and mud.

Having inspected the neighbouring village of Huancabamba, which also possessed fine stone buildings, Soto led his men back to Serrán, taking with him the Inca lord and the women. The booty from Cajas and the rich clothing they had also found, woven with gold thread and decorated with plumes, prompted Soto's horseman Diego de Gavilán to note that 'great

merriment was had by all, for the Adelantado [Soto] declared he had discovered a land as rich as Castile!’¹⁷ After meeting Pizarro, who presented him with a lace shirt and some Venetian glass, the Inca lord left the camp, taking Pizarro’s message of friendship to his master Atahualpa. He left behind a number of guides to lead the Spaniards to Atahualpa’s encampment in the valley of Cajamarca.

In early October the conquistadores broke camp and began their march into the Andes, the foothills of which they reached in the first week of November. The horseman Mena recorded:

We were only to find the roads destroyed, also their villages, whose caciques had fled; and as we approached the mountains Hernando Pizarro and Hernando de Soto went on ahead with some men, swimming across a great river [the Saña], for we had been told that in a village beyond we would find much treasure.

Before we reached the village we captured two Indians in order to get information about Atahualpa: the Captain [Soto] ordered them tied to two poles, for they were scared and would not speak; one of them said he knew nothing of Atahualpa, and the other said he had only left his encampment a few days before, and that he was waiting with many of his people for us in the valley of Cajamarca. He also told us that many warriors were guarding two passes in the mountains ahead, and that for their banner they now used the shirt the Governor had sent Atahualpa: but neither by the torch nor any other inducement did they tell us more.¹⁸

The Andalusian López de Jerez, who was Pizarro’s secretary and who accompanied him at all times during the march to Cajamarca, also left a description of their final march:

The Governor travelled for two days through the densely populated valleys, sheltering in the night in the *tambos*, small fortified lodgings made of mud-brick, and which the caciques informed him were used by Huayna Cápac when he had travelled through the region. Some days later, we crossed a dry desert-like terrain and reached a large and flowing river. There the Governor spent the night, and the next morning he ordered Hernando Pizarro and a few other men who knew how to swim

to cross to the villages on the other side of the river and persuade the natives not to oppose our crossing.

Hernando Pizarro swam across without much difficulty, and he was received kindly by the villagers, who gave him one of their lodgings for him to stay. But despite their friendliness he soon realised that the people were abandoning the village and taking their belongings with them. He asked them about Atahualpa, and whether he would receive us peacefully or not, though none of them were willing to answer him, because of their fear, till Hernando Pizarro took hold of one of their caciques and put him to the torture. The man confessed that Atahualpa was making preparations for war, and that he had divided his forces into three squadrons, one of which was at the foot of the mountains ahead, another at its summit and the third squadron at Cajamarca. He also told him that Atahualpa had boasted he would kill every single Christian.

The following morning Hernando Pizarro sent this news to his brother, who immediately ordered that trees be felled on both banks of the river, so that the men and baggage could be taken across.

Three rafts were built, and in the course of that day all the men were brought over, the horses swimming across. The Governor took a full part in the work, and when everyone had been brought over he himself went across and then to the lodging where his brother was staying. He then sent for one of the caciques and again inquired about Atahualpa's intentions. The cacique told him that Atahualpa was near Cajamarca with an army of some fifty thousand warriors. On learning this, he imagined that the cacique had been mistaken and he asked how he calculated such numbers. The cacique told him that he counted from one to ten, and from ten to a hundred, then hundreds making a thousand, and five ten thousands the number of men Atahualpa had under his command. The cacique also told him that when Atahualpa had entered his lands he had at first hidden out of fear. And that Atahualpa had killed four to five thousand of his people and taken six hundred women and six hundred boys to be divided among his warriors.

On reaching the foothills of the mountains we rested for a day to prepare for the ascent. The Governor decided to leave behind the rearguard and baggage. Taking forty horsemen and sixty foot soldiers with him, he placed the rest under his brother's command, whom he

instructed to follow at a slower pace. Leading our horses on foot we began our climb. At midday we came to a small fort on top of a mountain: a dangerous place, so steep that in parts it was cut in steps. We climbed this pass without seeing anyone till we reached the fort, a building with a ragged precipice on each side. Here we halted to rest and eat. The cold in the mountains is so intense that our horses, accustomed to the heat of the valleys, caught cold. The Governor sent a message down to those in the rear telling them that they could now climb safely and that they should reach the fort in time to sleep there.

Next morning the Governor pressed on with his men, and halted by a mountain stream in order to give the rearguard time to catch up with him. We made camp in our cotton tents we carried, and lit fires to protect ourselves from the terrible cold of the mountains. Nowhere in Castile is more cold than these great peaks, which are bare and covered with thin grass. There are only a few stunted trees, and the water from its streams is so cold that it gives men a chill to drink it.¹⁹

In small groups, and at times reduced to a single file, they began their ascent of the great cordillera, climbing to an altitude of some 13,000 feet above sea level, almost to the very tops of the mountains. Here, for the first time they gazed in wonder at the huge condors that hovered above them, drifting in the changing air currents above the snow-capped peaks. Exhausted by the thinness of the air, some of the men doubtless resorted to chewing the coca leaves their guides carried with them to counter their dizziness and the lack of oxygen. Mile after mile they hauled their frightened horses and mules along the stone trails of the Inca highway; chiselled out of the bare mountainside, at times these trails were no wider than a few feet. Climbing even higher, they crossed the cordillera's great canyons on the few reed bridges that had survived the Indian fighting. These flimsy structures seemed barely able to take a man's weight, let alone that of a horse. They inched forward, some of the men crawling on hands and knees, as the bridges swayed thousands of feet above the rivers and ravines far below; only the occasional scream of a man falling to his death pierced the silence. The seemingly endless march deepened their sense of abandonment, but they tried to lift their spirits by praying, led by the black-and-white-robed Dominican Friar Valverde, their voices resounding across the giant snow-clad mountains that seemed to engulf them at every

turn. Even the most hardened of the Isthmian veterans had never experienced such wretchedness and the pain of their frostbitten hands and feet, numbed by the bitter cold of the Andean nights, only added to their misery. Finally, after spending almost a week in such conditions, they reached the great valley of Cajamarca, its green and lush pastures enclosed by the cordillera, 8,500 feet above sea level. Here the Inca Emperor Atahualpa was encamped, his tents spread across a distance of two miles at the far end of the valley at whose centre lay an Inca town flanked by four high walls. Within its confines thatched stone and mud-brick buildings lined a central square, which the soldier chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León, who stayed in the town some twenty years later, described as larger than any in Spain, and which was entered through two gateways.

For several hours Atahualpa had awaited their arrival, staring across the valley towards the northern hills and the blackened winter sky. The first indication of their coming was a noise like the recurring drumming of rain, but his scouts told him this was the sound of horses' hooves; soon he could make out the plumed-helmets of their riders as they moved along in a cloud of dust, their lances sloped across their shoulders. Marching some distance behind them was the tall figure of Pizarro at the head of his foot soldiers; he was accompanied by the Friar Valverde, the large wooden cross he had brought with him from Panama strapped to his mule. It was 15 November 1532, a Friday.

It was six o'clock in the evening and it began to rain, and huge hailstones were falling, forcing the men to shelter in the buildings; then the Governor entered with the infantry, all of whom were much frightened; for we could now count on no other rescue other than from God. Then a messenger arrived from Atahualpa, telling us that he could not come to meet us because he was fasting that day. The Captain Hernando de Soto asked the Governor for permission to go with five or six horsemen and an Indian to speak with Atahualpa; and against his better judgement the Governor agreed to his going, sending Soto ahead.

All the road that led to his camp was paved, and alongside the road were great pools of water, and at the far end of the road was a river, alongside which were the tents of the encampment. Some two crossbow shots from the river bank was a pleasure house, where Atahualpa was

fasting. The house was made up of four chambers and had two large baths situated inside a patio, which were supplied with cold and hot water from two pipes and two separate ponds. It was there he bathed with his women. In front of the house was a green meadow.

All the area near the encampment was guarded by squadrons of warriors with lances and archers. We rode through their ranks without any hindrance until we reached the Cacique: seated as he was in front of the door of his lodging, and with many of his women; and then Hernando de Soto rode right up to him, and so close to him was he that his horse's nose touched his headdress: and not once did the Cacique make a movement. The Captain de Soto then took off a ring from his finger and gave it to him, as a sign of peace and friendship, but which he took with little mark of esteem.

And as he did not return and suspecting that he may have been killed, the Governor ordered Hernando Pizarro to take with him horsemen and foot-soldiers, and I [Trujillo] among them, to discover what had taken place. When we reached his camp we found the Captain de Soto with the men he had taken, and Hernando Pizarro said to him: 'My lord, what is happening?' And he replied: 'As you can see, we are still waiting,' and then said: 'Soon Atahualpa will come out' – who was still in his lodging – 'but until now he has not.' Hernando Pizarro shouted at the interpreter: 'Tell him to come out!' The man returned and said: 'Wait, he will see you shortly.' And Hernando Pizarro said to him: 'Tell the dog to come out immediately!' And then Atahualpa came out of his lodging, holding two small gold cups in his hands that were filled with chicha, and gave one to Hernando Pizarro and the other he drank.

After they had drunk one of his women came in and took away the cups. Then all his other women entered and sat beside him. He was seated on a low stool. He wore a sleeveless shirt and a cloak which completely covered him. He had a cord tied round his head and red tassel on his forehead; and when he spat one of his women placed her hand in front of him so that he could spit into it; any of his hair which had fallen on his clothing was gathered by his women and eaten by them. We later learnt that he spat to show his grandeur, and that his fallen hairs his women eat so that no one could use them to bewitch him.

And Hernando Pizarro said to the interpreter: 'Tell Atahualpa that there is no difference in rank between myself and the Captain Soto, for we are both captains of the king, and in his service we have left our homelands to come and instruct him in the Faith.' And then it was agreed Atahualpa would come the following day, which was a Saturday, to Cajamarca.

Guarding his camp were more than forty thousand Indian warriors in their squadrons, and many principal lords of the land. And, on departing, Hernando de Soto reared the legs of his horse, near to where were positioned the first of these squadrons, and the Indians of the squadrons fled, falling over each other. And when we returned to Cajamarca Atahualpa ordered three hundred of them killed because they had shown fear and fled, and this we discovered another day when we found their bodies.

The following day Atahualpa came with all his people in procession to Cajamarca, and the league they travelled took them until almost an hour before sunset ... it was as if the entire valley was in movement ... he was carried in a throne chair on the shoulders of his lords ... six hundred Indians in white and black livery as if pieces of a chessboard came ahead of him, sweeping the road of stones and branches ... wearing headdresses of gold and silver ... and the Governor, seeing they were taking such a great time, sent Hernando de Aldana, who spoke their language, to ask him to come before it was too dark. And Aldana spoke to him, and only then did they begin to move at a walking pace.

In Cajamarca there are ten streets that lead from the square, and in each of these the Governor placed eight men, and in some, fewer number, because of the few men we had, and the horsemen he positioned in three companies: one with Hernando Pizarro, one with Hernando de Soto with his own men, and one with Sebastián de Belalcázar with his, and all with bells attached to their bridles, and the Governor positioned himself in the fortress with twenty-four of his guards; for in all we were a hundred and sixty: sixty horsemen and a hundred on foot.

As Atahualpa entered the square of Cajamarca, and as he saw no Christians he asked the Inca lord who had been with us: 'What has become of these bearded ones?' And the Inca lord replied: 'They are hidden.' And he asked him to climb down from his throne litter on which

he sat, but he refused. And then the Friar Vicente de Valverde made himself seen and attempted to inform him of the reason why we had come on the orders of the Pope and one of his sons, a Christian leader who was the emperor, our lord.

And speaking of his words of the Holy Gospel Atahualpa said to him: 'Whose words are these?' And he replied: 'The words of God.' And Atahualpa said to him: 'How is this possible?' And the Friar Vicente told him: 'See, here it is written.' And he showed him a breviary which he opened, and Atahualpa demanded to be given it and took it, and after looking at it he threw it on the ground and ordered: 'Let none of them escape!' And the Indians gave a great cry, shouting: 'Inca, let it be so!' And the shouting made us very frightened. And the Friar Vicente returned and climbed to the wall where the Governor was and said to him: 'Your Excellency, what will you do? Atahualpa is like Lucifer!'

And then the Governor climbed down and armed himself with a shield and sword and put on his helmet, and with the twenty-four men who were with him, and I [Trujillo] among them, we went directly to Atahualpa's litter, pushing our way through the crowd of Indians, and as we tried to pull him off his litter the horsemen charged to the great sound that was made from their bridle bells, and there in the square fell so many people, one on top of the other, that many were suffocated, and of the eight thousand Indians who died, over half died in this manner. The killing of those who fled continued for half a league and into the night.²⁰

Native accounts set down by missionaries and Crown officials almost half a century later offered an even more damning insight into the massacre. The Indian Sebastián Yacobilca recalled that twenty thousand warriors were killed and their treasures looted, for he claimed that he personally witnessed Pizarro and his brother Hernando 'and his other brothers, and various Spaniards, who were with them, take from Atahualpa's encampment to their lodgings in the town all treasures of gold, silver and jewels, which he kept for his use and for that of his women and children'.²¹

The stench of death hung over the town for days, and the only sound was the wailing of the Indian women, many of whom had witnessed the dreadful end of their Inca lords. To the last man the escort had held aloft the litter of their emperor; some of them had lost their arms, and used instead the

bleeding and mutilated stumps of their shoulders to support him. Others had stood by in silent disbelief, mesmerised by the sight of their living god, naked and chained like an animal, pleading with his captors for his life.

In less than two hours, as the horseman Juan Ruiz de Arce recalled, and without the loss of a single man, the bedraggled contingent of Pizarro's conquistadores, their faces and hands darkened by the blood of their butchery, changed the course of world history and laid the foundations of South America's Hispanic heritage.

THREE

The Capture of the Sun God

Atahualpa was a man of some thirty years of age, of fine appearance and disposition, somewhat stocky, his face imposing, beautiful and ferocious, his eyes bloodshot.

Francisco López de Jerez, Pizarro's scrivener

The morning after the massacre Pizarro addressed the entire company of his men. Their victory, he told them, had been the Almighty's reward to them for all they had suffered in their long and arduous march, and he promised that he too would reward each one of them for their loyalty and courage. His men were exhausted, having spent the night fully armed, most of the horsemen mounted in the square. Even the Greek Candía's two small cannon had been placed in a defensive position to the north and south of the town's walls, one of which had been partly destroyed by the multitude of Indians attempting to flee. Nor had the fear that had gripped the Spaniards when they had first seen Atahualpa's retinue enter the town, and when many of them had urinated in their armour, entirely subsided, for they knew themselves to be relatively few and isolated in a mountain valley some 8,000 feet above sea level in the heartland of an unknown country. For the majority of Pizarro's volunteers it had been the first time they had ever fought in their lives. Their victory and the slaughter that ensued they owed to the terror their cannon and horses had inflicted on their mainly unarmed victims. No explanation, however, is given by either conquistadore or Indian as to why Atahualpa had not been accompanied by his squadrons of warriors when he had entered the town. What is apparent was his desire to demonstrate to both the Spaniards and his own people his sovereignty and courage, which some of his warriors had lacked when challenged by Hernando de Soto's horsemanship.

The capture of the emperor, the living deity of the Inca Sun God, would virtually paralyse his empire, denigrating him in the eyes of his subjects to the level of his brother the Emperor Huáscar, whose public humiliation and

torture had been witnessed at Cuzco. The great imperial panacas of Cuzco and their lords, divided by their rivalries, were soon to find themselves not only facing the open desertion of many of their subject tribesmen, but the retribution of Atahualpa's northern warrior chiefs, men of neither Quéchuá nor Inca royal blood, but who had risen from the ranks of the imperial armies and who had little regard for the princely order. The almost total breakdown of Inca rule, and what was becoming the virtual dismemberment of their sovereignty, was demonstrated by the disloyalty of the caciques who are recorded to have entered the encampment soon after to offer the Spaniards their allegiance, something which was possibly most instrumental in influencing Pizarro's later decision to execute Atahualpa.

Manacled and kept prisoner in one of the town's stone lodgings, Atahualpa offered tribute for his release, an act common in the tribal wars of the Andes and which in itself would have been regarded by his people as a symbol of his vassalage. The tribute would also have included the lordship of the subject tribes, their herds of llamas and their women.

The horseman Juan Ruiz de Arce recalled that Atahualpa had been imprisoned in a chamber 'twenty feet in length and fifteen feet wide'.¹ An Indian witness, who had been present when Pizarro had first visited his prisoner, testified that he had demanded gold and silver from him, and that 'Atahualpa, fearing he would be killed, called for an interpreter and told him: "tell the Christians that if they do not kill me I will give them this entire chamber filled with gold."' ² Diego de Trujillo recorded that Atahualpa then promised 'to fill two entire chambers, and with a white line he marked the height of almost two persons, and he ordered that this be carried out with much care as his life depended on it, and so his messengers departed to all the regions'.³

The Inca emperor had been well informed about his captors and there is no evidence to suggest he believed in their divinity, as is often asserted. From the outset his scouts had appraised him of every aspect of the Spaniards and of their mortality and of their obsessive search for gold, which was all they inquired about. He would also have been told about their treatment of the native women, and of the mass rape of the *mamacona* that had taken place at Cajas. His intention, as he later informed the horseman Miguel de Estete, had been to 'take their horses and mares, which was what impressed him most, for breeding, and to castrate some of us for his service

to guard his women, as was their custom, the rest he would sacrifice to the sun'.⁴

Pizarro was under no illusion as to the danger his men now faced. Three separate armies of Atahualpa's warrior chiefs were encamped within anything between days' and weeks' march from Cajamarca: the warrior chief Rumiñavi to the north, guarding Quito; Chalcuchima to the south, defending the town of Jauja; and Quisquis further south, defending Cuzco. The warriors they commanded numbered in all possibility over a hundred thousand. Pizarro knew it would take several months for Almagro's reinforcements to reach him from Panama. No more than two hundred and fifty men, some of them defending the small settlement of San Miguel on the equatorial coast, were all that stood between the success or failure of his conquest.

Under the circumstances, Pizarro's treatment of Atahualpa was considerate, for he had him freed of his chains and placed under guard in a far larger lodging which had a small courtyard, where he allowed him to be accompanied by his women, who cooked for him and prepared his food. Pedro Pizarro recorded that the women 'were carried in litters or in hammocks, which were blankets tied at each end to thick poles, the thickness of one's arm, and finely designed, their bodies shaded and hidden by canopies. They were attended by a multitude of servants who treated them with great reverence, and they were of a very fine appearance, their robes of a very delicate and soft cloth, their hair, which was black, they wore long, over their shoulders.'⁵ The trumpeter Pedro de Alconchel recalled that 'some of the women were just Atahualpa's servants, while others were women with whom he had carnal relations, and these women I saw were greatly respected and were kept apart from the rest, for they were well known for being his concubines; and with great honour they were held and served, and none of the principal caciques or Inca lords were allowed to touch them or speak with them, neither could they look them in the face'.⁶

Pedro Pizarro, who was one of Atahualpa's guards towards the end of his imprisonment, has left the most graphic account of the Inca emperor's captivity:

He was an Indian of good disposition and fine character, of medium height and not overtly thickset; his features were beautiful and with a

sombre aspect about them, his eyes bloodshot, and he was much feared by his people. I recall when the lord of Huayllas asked him for his permission to go to his lands, which he granted him: indicating to him the time of his journey and of his return; but he was absent much longer, and when he returned he brought with him some gifts of fruit from his land, and being present, I watched him approach and tremble in such a manner that he could hardly stand. Atahualpa raised his head slightly and smiling, dismissed him. When they took him out to kill him all the Indians who were in the square prostrated themselves on the ground before him like drunken men, such was their fear and reverence for him.

He was served by his women, each of his sisters spending eight or ten days with him, and who were also served by a great number of the other women, daughters of his lords, and who were always in attendance on him, making sure that no Indian entered to see him without his permission. He also had a number of caciques with him, who remained outside in the courtyard: and if any one of them were called by him he entered barefoot and in homage carrying a burden on his back ...

On his head he wore a *llautu*, which are braids of coloured wool, half a finger thick and a finger in width, in the manner of a crown. On his forehead he wore a fringe attached to the *llautu*, made of fine scarlet wool, evenly cut and adorned with small gold strings. His hair, like that of his lords, he wore cut short. The clothes he wore were very thin and fine. Over his head he wore a mantle which partly covered his neck: so as to hide the wound to his ear he had suffered ...

One day when he was eating the food his women had brought him, and which they placed on fine green leaves on the floor, seated on a wooden stool, a foot in height, and made of reddish and very pretty wood, he pointed as was his custom at what ever food he wished and it was brought to him by his women, and from whose hand he ate. On one occasion, as he was being fed by his sisters, when he raised some food to his mouth, a particle fell on his clothing, and giving his hand to one of the women to lick clean, he stood up and went into his chamber to put on new clothing, and when he came back he wore a shirt and dark brown mantle. I felt the mantle which was smoother than silk, and I said to him: 'Inca, of what is this cloth made?' And he said to me: 'It is made of birds who fly at night in Puerto Viejo and Túmbez and who bite my people.' And when I asked him how so much cloth can be gathered he said:

‘Those dogs from Túmbez and Puerto Viejo, what else can they do other than make clothes for their father?’ And it is the case that in those regions the bats bite Indians, Spaniards and horses alike at night, and they draw so much blood that it is a mystery. And one day when an Indian complained that a Spaniard had stolen one of these mantles, the Governor asked me what they were made of, and he told me to summon the Spaniard so as to punish him. And the Indian showed me one of the chests from where the garment had been stolen. And they contained everything Atahualpa had touched with his hands; in some were the reed mats they placed under his feet when he ate; in another were the bones of the fowl he had eaten, and which he had touched with his hands; in others, the corn stalks he had also eaten and touched, and everything that had touched his skin. And when I asked him ‘For what purpose do you have these things here?’ He answered that it was in order to burn them, for what had been touched by the sons of the Sun must be burnt to ashes, which none was allowed to handle, and scattered to the wind. These lords slept on the floor on large mattresses made of cotton and covered themselves with woollen blankets.

Never in all Peru did I see an Indian such as Atahualpa, nor anyone so ferocious or with so much authority. And before he died he told his sisters and his other women that if his body was not burnt he would return to this world. And when various of his servants and one of his sisters killed themselves so that they could serve him in the next life, two of his sister-wives led the wailing for his death, singing and weeping, and recalling his great deeds; and they waited until the Governor came out of his lodging, and following him to where their brother had been imprisoned they begged me to allow them to enter his lodging, and once inside they searched for his spirit in each corner of the chamber.⁷

The relationship between Pizarro and his prisoner was based on mutual necessity. As Pedro Pizarro’s account demonstrates, it was far from acrimonious. Pizarro not only allowed his prisoner considerable freedom but established a personal relationship with him that over the months came to border on friendship, visiting him almost daily and inviting him on occasion to his own chambers to share a meal with him. It is, however, revealing that among all the Spaniards at Cajamarca Atahualpa is recorded to have regarded only Hernando Pizarro as his equal. Possibly it was

because of the arrogance he had demonstrated at their first meeting, and the fact that he could read and write, something the Inca emperor greatly admired and which he knew Pizarro was unable to do. The Andalusian Alonso de Guzmán recorded that Atahualpa ‘was very intelligent and in twenty days he understood Spanish and to play chess and cards’, and that he almost learnt to read and write.⁸ Hernando de Soto taught him to play chess and spent many a day in his company, impressed by the ability of his pupil not only to defeat him, but to outplay any other Spaniard.

Soon after Atahualpa’s capture, one of his young sisters was brought to the town by his lords, and the emperor gave her as a gift to Pizarro with the words, ‘take my sister, daughter of my father, whom I love greatly’.⁹ Quispe Sisa was a half-sister of the emperor, and possibly then only twelve years old. Pizarro installed her in the chamber that served for his lodging, facing the central square of the town. Several witnesses attest to the affection he showed the young girl, whom he openly called his ‘woman’, giving her the nickname ‘Pizpita’, the name of an Extremaduran song bird, because of her liveliness.

For eight months Atahualpa remained a prisoner at Cajamarca, and for eight months his armies remained stationed beyond the mountains awaiting his order to attack. The unease of Pizarro’s men was, however, partly quelled by the appearance in the first few weeks of several thousand warriors and their women from the Emperor Huáscar’s defeated armies, among them Cañari and Huanca tribesmen, many of whom had renounced their allegiance to their Inca lords. Their arrival also brought Pizarro confirmation of the Emperor Huáscar’s existence and of his killing on the orders of Atahualpa. Though Atahualpa denied any involvement in his brother’s killing, and wept openly about his death, it gave Pizarro the excuse he needed to charge him many months later with his murder.

Atahualpa’s cruelty was in every sense equal to that of Pizarro and his conquistadores, and is well documented. In his evidence to the viceroy Toledo’s inquiry at Cuzco, one of Atahualpa’s guards and the youngest conquistadore at Cajamarca, Alonso de Mesa, stated that when some four to five thousand warriors in their squadrons arrived in the valley to seek refuge there, ‘many of them carrying their children and accompanied by their women’, Atahualpa told Pizarro that when he was free he would kill them in Quito in order to guarantee the loyalty of that province. ‘I also saw

him order some ten or twelve caciques from Chachapoyas be brought to Cajamarca,' Mesa recalled, 'and he instructed his servants to put them in a stockade, where he had them stoned to death. And on hearing of this the Governor threatened to have him burnt if he repeated such killings.' Mesa also added that one day he found in Atahualpa's chamber 'a shrunken head mounted in gold, and which had a drinking funnel attached to it, also of gold, and I took this head to show to the Governor who at the time was eating; and he had Atahualpa brought to him and asked him to explain what this was, and he told him it was the head of one of his brothers who had fought against him, and who had boasted he would drink from his skull, and it was he who killed him and who now drank from his head, and taking the skull he drank the chicha that was inside in front of us all.'¹⁰

Although Atahualpa had promised to furnish his ransom tribute within two months, its delayed arrival at Cajamarca prompted Hernando Pizarro to ask his brother for permission to take a hand in the gathering of the booty from one of the principal Inca temples. The delay had greatly affected the morale of his men and he ordered Atahualpa to supply his brother with guides and a safe conduct through his lands.

On 5 January 1533 Hernando Pizarro and a small squadron of horse left Cajamarca on a journey that took them across the central Andes to the Inca temple at Pachacamac, situated near Pizarro's future settlement and capital at Lima, and a distance of several hundred miles. For almost four months Hernando Pizarro led his twenty horsemen through the mountains – at one stage the snow was so deep it reached up to the horses' girths – and crossing the reed bridges that hung above the rivers and canyons, until they finally descended into the great coastal desert and plain. 'All the rivers have their own bridges,' wrote Hernando, 'of either stone or reed. At one great river, which was very turbulent and wide, and over which we crossed, there was a bridge made of reeds, which was a marvel to see, and which the horses also crossed.'¹¹ Pedro de Cieza de León, who years later visited Pachacamac, recorded that its temple was constructed on top of a hillock and was made of earth and mud-brick. Its doors and walls were decorated with the figures of wild animals. And inside, where they kept their idol, lived the priests of the temple.

Some chroniclers deny that Hernando Pizarro found any great amount of treasure at the temple. Native accounts, however, contradict this. The Indian

Pola, who had been present when Hernando and his squadron arrived at the temple, testified that ‘before their arrival the Spaniards had sent messengers to all the neighbouring provinces, ordering them to bring all their treasures of gold and silver, their *mamacona* and their fine clothes and jewels, and their herds of llamas; and I saw that they took from the temple of the Sun at Pachacamac and from its idol a great quantity of treasure: gold and silver vessels, jugs, pitchers, images of the puma and of foxes, of men and women, of maize, of frogs and snakes, all of which was taken to a great chamber and given to Hernando Pizarro; and he took the treasure to Cajamarca with him, and it was carried by more than ten thousand Indians.’¹²

While at Pachacamac Hernando Pizarro received word that Atahualpa’s warrior chief Chalcuchima had positioned his army at the Inca town of Jauja in the central Andes, and that he was in possession of a great quantity of treasure. Taking his vast caravan of llamas and Indian porters with him, Hernando retraced his march northwards towards Chalcuchima’s camp. ‘The town of Jauja is very large and lies in a beautiful valley,’ recorded one of his horsemen, ‘a great river passes through it, and its climate is temperate. The land is fertile. The town is built in the Spanish manner with rectangular streets, and has several outlying villages ... some of us even thought there were at least one hundred thousand people in its main square. The markets and streets were so full that every single inhabitant seemed to be there on the day of our arrival. Chalcuchima had also his servants there, whose duty it was to supply provisions for his army. He was much feared throughout the countryside, since he was a great warrior and had subdued for his master Atahualpa more than six hundred leagues of territory.’¹³

Another conquistadore recalled that when they had first entered the town’s central square they were confronted with the horrific spectacle of thousands of lances spiked with the heads and tongues of the Emperor Huáscar’s defeated warriors. It was there that Hernando Pizarro ordered that the horses of his men be shod with the silver he had been given by Chalcuchima, who only a short while previously on Atahualpa’s instructions had killed the Emperor Huáscar. Chalcuchima agreed to accompany the Spaniards to Cajamarca in order to see his master.

Several early historians, among them Agustín de Zárate and Garcilaso de la Vega, claimed that at the time of his brother’s journey to Pachacamac

Pizarro also sent Hernando de Soto to Cuzco in the company of the Extremaduran Pedro del Barco. Pedro de Cieza de León mentions only the names of three relatively insignificant foot soldiers on the Cuzco expedition, attended by an African slave. Neither Francisco López de Jerez, Pizarro's secretary, nor his successor Sancho de la Hoz, both of whom were at Cajamarca, make any mention of Soto's journey to Cuzco. Del Barco, as his testimonial demonstrates, only arrived at Cajamarca much later with Almagro's reinforcements.¹⁴ What may have inspired such a tale was its assertion by del Barco's mestizo son, who would have known both Zárate and Garcilaso de la Vega, repeated in his own later testimonial, but which was, in fact, a colourful invention on his part to glamorise his father's role in the Conquest.¹⁵ It is more than likely that Pizarro, who was suspicious of Soto's ambition, would not have allowed him to leave Cajamarca at such a time. In support of the latter view, it is also known that Soto was in the town on the eve of Easter Sunday when Diego de Almagro's exhausted army of reinforcements finally reached Cajamarca.

It had taken Almagro's reinforcements almost two months to reach the valley from the bay of San Mateo where his armada had landed. Numbering some one hundred and fifty volunteers, from the Isthmus, among them were Pedro del Barco, a veteran of the conquest of Nicaragua, and the eighteen-year-old hidalgo Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, whose testimonial states that he brought with him his 'horses and servants',¹⁶ Luis Sánchez, one of Almagro's foot soldiers, recorded that they had suffered greatly in fighting off attacks from the coastal Indians, 'from hunger and deprivations, and in the crossing of many mountains, ravines and rivers'.¹⁷ Nicolás de Ribera, who had been responsible for recruiting many of Almagro's Nicaraguan volunteers, recalled that Pizarro 'was greatly overjoyed by our arrival, for we had arrived at a time when he had great need of our assistance because of Atahualpa's imprisonment and the threat from the multitude of his warriors ...'.¹⁸

Almagro's contingent had left Panama only a few weeks after the capture of Atahualpa. He had, however, received word via the various messengers Pizarro had sent him not only of the imprisonment of the Inca emperor, but of the ransom of gold and silver he had promised the Spaniards. As he inspected the piles of treasure stacked in the town's central square, nothing could have astonished or offended him more than to learn that his men

would be denied their share of the booty. It was a resentment and anger his men would share throughout the Conquest, and which would never subside. Almagro's indignation and the coarseness of the abuse he levelled at Pizarro served only to highlight the open hostility between the two groups of conquistadores. Probably swayed by the ill-will he had provoked, Pizarro relented in part and persuaded Almagro to accept a quantity of treasure for himself and a token amount for his men. It was not what Almagro had wished, but he had little choice but to accept; he knew full well that Pizarro held the Crown's mandate and that the supreme authority of their combined forces was vested solely in him.

Shortly after Almagro's arrival Hernando Pizarro and his horsemen returned to the valley with their huge caravan of treasure, accompanied by Chalcuchima. Pizarro and Almagro rode out of the town to greet Hernando, whose loathing and contempt for Almagro was made plain by his pointedly ignoring him. It was an insult that would once more destabilise relations between the two groups of Spaniards, each supporting their respective interests and leaders. Only after Pizarro had managed to persuade his brother to apologise to Almagro did a certain harmony once more prevail in the town.

Atahualpa, who had witnessed the dissension with growing amusement, was nevertheless crestfallen at the arrival of Almagro's reinforcements. Pedro Pizarro, who had accompanied Almagro's forces from the settlement of San Miguel, recalled that the Inca emperor expressed his fears by crying out that he would be killed, but that Pizarro had tried to reassure him, promising to release him once all the treasure had been collected, and saying that he would give him the province of Quito for his own kingdom. For a while Pizarro's words calmed Atahualpa, though he did not alter his opinion of Almagro, whom he would contemptuously refer to as the 'one-eyed'. He equally demonstrated a dislike for the royal treasurer Alonso de Riquelme, whom Almagro had also brought with him from San Miguel, calling him 'the fat man'. Possibly it was intuition, but both men would be the most vocal in demanding his execution in the months to come.

Atahualpa's only recompense was seeing his faithful warrior chief again, but whom he nevertheless treated with the same aloofness and condescension as any other of his vassals.

When Chalcuchima entered Atahualpa's chamber he took a fair sized load from the back of one of the Indian porters who had accompanied him, and put it on his own back as an act of vassalage. As did all the other caciques who were with him. And thus they entered their master's presence, and when Chalcuchima saw Atahualpa he raised his hands to the sun, and gave thanks for having been permitted to enjoy the sight. Then with great reverence, and with tears in his eyes he approached his master and kissed his cheeks, his hands and his feet; and all the caciques who were with him did the same, and Atahualpa preserved so majestic a stance that though he loved no one better than Chalcuchima he did not once look at his face or take any more notice of him than of the humblest of his servants.¹⁹

A few days later Chalcuchima was tortured by Hernando de Soto, who partially burnt his legs when the Indian refused to divulge the whereabouts of some treasure Soto believed was hidden near Cajamarca – one of the many examples of the brutality of Pizarro's conquistadores, perpetrated regardless of social or military rank, and of their relentless and obsessive search for gold. The brutality exhibited by Soto, who had often shown Atahualpa great kindness, is indicative of the mindset of the men of the Indies, none of whom, including Almagro and Pizarro, would have thought twice about meting out a similar punishment, nor believed they would have met a more humane fate at the hands of the Inca emperor. In giving evidence to an inquiry in 1607, the Indian Tancara stated that Hernando Pizarro had burned his grandfather and other caciques in the province of Omasuyos. Another Indian testimonial asserted that he had burned 600 Lupaca tribesmen after confronting them on the shores of Lake Titicaca.²⁰

An outward appearance of grudging cordiality was maintained in the encampment by both groups of conquistadores, conscious of the fact that unity was their only hope of fighting their way out of Cajamarca and seizing the imperial capital of Cuzco, where they believed the greatest amount of treasure was stored. Billeted in the tents they had brought with them from the Isthmus and in the mud-brick and thatch-roof houses of the town – only a few of which were of fine stone Inca masonry – the men were provided with food by their Indian women. They lived off a diet of potato, then unknown in Europe, maize, guinea pig, fowl, llama meat and chicha. Many of the Indian women had followed them from the coast, dressed in

their scanty clothing and barefoot; others were natives of the town or had belonged to Atahualpa's retinue. Their ethnic appearance and dress varied greatly: the Andean mountain people clearly identifiable by their high cheek bones and Asiatic features, in contrast to the flat-nosed and oval-faced coastal Indians, whose appearance was more Polynesian.

The several thousand Indians who had sworn allegiance to Pizarro, and who were now encamped outside Cajamarca's walls, represented a cross-section of the subject tribes. Each tribe wore its distinctive costume which the Indian historian and artist Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala recorded in his pen-and-ink sketches: the leaf-like body armour of the bowmen of the Antisuyo Mañari Amazon region; the cone hats and knee-length shirt robes of the southern Collasuyo men; the multicoloured and plumed headdresses of the northern Andean Chinchasuyo warriors; the shoulder-length hair crowned with a leather thong which marked out the soldier-lords of the westerly Cuntisuyo; and among them their former Inca lords, decked out in their richly embroidered woollen shirt kilts and silken capes, their hair cut short to denote their princely rank, and accompanied by their women in their long sleeveless shirts and capes, which were attached at the collar by a gold or silver pin clasp. It was a sight few of the conquistadores could ever have imagined witnessing, and which demonstrated the vastness and diversity of the empire they had set out to conquer and subjugate, and which filled even the most foolhardy with as much fear and apprehension as excitement.

The animosity between Almagro and Hernando Pizarro nevertheless soon reasserted itself and their constant bickering was creating a problem for Pizarro. He realised that it would be in his own and his brother's best interests if Hernando returned to Spain with what had been smelted of the Crown's share of the ransom treasure, where he could secure for Pizarro the necessary guarantees for his governorship of the conquered territories. It would also enable Hernando to counter in person any claim made by Almagro or any of his agents at the Spanish court to his share of the governorship. Hernando had no love for the Indies, nor did he have the slightest desire to settle in Peru whatever riches and honours his brother would have awarded him. His simple wish was to accumulate as much personal wealth as he possibly could in the shortest period of time, and to use it to secure for himself the civic and social recognition in his native

township that his father's impecuniousness and meagre hidalgo rank had denied him.

Hernando Pizarro left Cajamarca for the Isthmus some two months after Almagro's arrival in the valley and a month after Pizarro had ordered the smelting of the ransom treasure. Hernando took with him 100,000 pesos of gold that made up the royal fifth of the Crown's share of the booty, together with his own sizeable fortune and various artefacts, among them a life-size gold statue of a boy. In the first days of January 1534, some six months after leaving Peru, Hernando's galleon the *María del Campo*, piloted by Pedro Bernal, docked at Seville. It took almost an entire day for the labourers of the Casa de la Contratación to unload the wooden crates of gold and silver and pile them on to the ox-carts waiting to make the short journey to the depository at the rear of the palace of the Alcázar. For a number of weeks the treasure was left on public display at Seville in the courtyard of the Contratación. People flocked to see the spectacle, among them a young boy who would grow up to become the historian Pedro de Cieza de León. The officials of the Contratación ordered the treasure to be smelted a month later, robbing the world of one of the greatest examples of Inca culture and civilisation.

Some ten or twelve days after Hernando Pizarro's departure for Spain, two of the three Spaniards who had gone to Cuzco – Pedro de Moguer, Juan de Zárate and Martín Bueno – returned to Cajamarca, carried in litters by their Indian porters and followed by a train of 255 llamas. Sancho de la Hoz witnessed how they brought with them 'the gold from Cuzco, part of which was smelted, and which were small and fine objects, and also some five hundred sheets of gold that had been taken from the walls of its temple; the smallest of the gold sheets weighed some ten or twelve pounds, and had covered the entire inner walling of the temple; they also brought with them a gold throne chair in the shape of a figure, which weighed eight or ten pounds; also a gold bowl which was of very fine workmanship, and many other such pieces, including cups and plates. From these gold objects two and a half million pesos was smelted, and when converted into fine gold was a million and three hundred thousand and twenty pesos.'²¹ Pedro de Cieza de León, who interviewed various Inca lords who had been present in Cuzco at the time of the arrival of the three Spaniards, describes in some detail the Spaniards' wanton behaviour in the capital where they were received as gods and carried about the streets in litter chairs. Not only did

they desecrate the temple of Coricancha but they instigated a mass orgy and rape of its *mamacona*.

The Cajamarca treasure was smelted in nine separate forges. For seven days and nights 11 tons of gold and silver artefacts were fed into the furnaces, yielding some 13,420lb of 22.5 carat gold in ingots, and 26,000lb in silver.²² The distribution of the treasure took a whole month to complete. A document, signed by Pizarro, recorded that the full amount of treasure smelted at Cajamarca amounted to 1,326,539 pesos of gold and 51,610 marks of silver. The gold had been smelted into ingots of 8lb weight with a value of about 1,000 pesos. Neither of these figures included the gold and silver artefacts and jewels, mostly emeralds and pearls, which the conquistadores seized as personal booty, nor Atahualpa's gold throne which Pizarro appropriated for himself. Years later the conquistadore Diego Maldonado, known as 'el rico', the rich, married a Spanish nobleman's daughter and gifted her an Inca necklace of emeralds, together with a gold life-size statue of a puma, which he probably looted at Cajamarca or at the sacking of Cuzco.

Each of Pizarro's horsemen was awarded approximately 8,800 pesos of gold and 362 marks of silver, each of his foot soldiers 4,440 pesos of gold and 181 marks of silver. His own official share of the booty was 57,740 pesos of gold and his captains also received a far greater share than the other men. Hernando de Soto, who was awarded 17,740 pesos of gold, some years later brought back with him to Seville a personal fortune of 100,000 pesos of gold, demonstrating the enormous discrepancy between the official records and the actual amount of booty seized by the conquistadores at Cajamarca and later at Cuzco – booty that was never declared to the Crown or recorded by its treasury official Alonso de Riquelme, either through fear or because he was bribed.

The awards in gold to Pizarro's brothers were indicative of their influence in his small council of captains: Hernando Pizarro – 31,080 pesos; Juan Pizarro – 11,100 pesos; Sebastián de Belalcázar, Pedro de Candía and Gonzalo Pizarro – 9,009 pesos each. The Friar Valverde, because of his vows of poverty, received no award. The few men who had stayed behind at San Miguel, and who had formed part of Pizarro's expeditionary force, were awarded 15,000 pesos between them. Almagro's men were awarded 20,000 pesos. It was a gesture that did little to alter their feeling of

resentment and which only strengthened their demand to leave Cajamarca and to continue their march to Cuzco, the sacking of which they saw as their only hope of enriching themselves. Pizarro, however, made two individual awards to Almagro's men: one was to the young horseman Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, whom he awarded 2,000 pesos of gold, and the other was to Nicolás de Ribera, the old man.²³ Ribera was an old comrade of Pizarro's and one of the thirteen men of Gallo. Serra de Leguizamón's award was possibly in recognition of some service he had rendered, or simply due to the fact that Pizarro was fond of him, as the trumpeter Pedro de Alconchel noted.²⁴

An encomendero of Lima would recall that some five years after the events at Cajamarca, veterans could still be seen wearing the jewels they had taken there as booty. Most of them would dissipate their fortunes, gambling them away at cards in the months they stayed in the encampment, or in their reckless spending on the few available goods to be found which they paid for in bars of gold and silver. Francisco López de Jerez recorded that a jug of wine cost 60 pesos of gold; a pair of boots or breeches, from 30 to 40 pesos; a cape, 125 pesos; a clove of garlic, half a peso; a sword, 50 pesos; a sheet of vellum paper, 10 pesos.²⁵ The foot soldier Melchor Verdugo is recorded as having purchased for 2,000 pesos a horse, an Isthmian Indian and woman, described as marked with a facial scar, and 20 chickens from the priest Ascencio. A horse in poor condition was valued at 94 pesos, one in good condition at 3,000 pesos. Negro slaves, depending on their age and physique, were sold for between 300 and 600 pesos. Juan Pantiel de Salinas, one of the farriers, is reported to have spent days shoeing horses with silver.

Diego de Trujillo recorded that though the chamber where the gold had been kept had at one time been set on fire 'and the gold had to be thrown elsewhere; much more, however, was received by the marqués [Pizarro] than had been agreed [by Atahualpa]'.²⁶ Another conquistadore also recalled that he had seen a great chamber filled with golden vases and many other pieces, which had not formed part of the distribution. At a secret inquiry ordered by the Emperor Charles V and held several years later by the Friar Bishop Tomás de Berlanga at Lima and at Panama, others testified to the irregularities they too had witnessed. Ironically, one of the witnesses was Hernando de Soto, whose decision to testify was possibly influenced

by his resentment at Pizarro's failure to award him a suitable governorship and who claimed that he had witnessed both Pizarro and Almagro sell a great quantity of the ransom silver for their own enrichment.

What is not given much importance by any of the chroniclers other than Pedro Pizarro is that Pizarro also distributed among his men the thousands of subject Indians and their caciques encamped at Cajamarca, whose native lands his men would also subsequently be awarded as *encomiendas*, and whose warriors would form the private armies of each of them in their later civil wars and rebellions against the Crown. It was this distribution more than any other that laid the foundations of the colonial aristocracy of Peru, and which in some cases remained virtually unchanged until the agrarian reforms of the twentieth century.

The allocation of the booty at Cajamarca inevitably sealed Atahualpa's fate. López de Jerez recorded how, at the time, the Inca emperor had told a number of his guards that he had seen a ball of fire illuminate the night sky, and that he knew it was an omen of his own death.²⁷ Legend has created an almost theatrical picture of the events that led to his supposed trial and execution, based on the alleged evidence of the Indian interpreter Felipillo, who was said to have overheard Atahualpa ordering an attack on the town. An Indian eyewitness, however, recalled: 'the truth is that they killed Atahualpa because of the lies of the tongue of Don Felipe [Felipillo], who had invented such lies because he had slept with one of Atahualpa's women, and he feared for his life.'²⁸

The young woman in question was Atahualpa's favourite wife and first cousin Cuxirimay. Eighteen years later the Spanish interpreter Juan de Betanzos, who had himself married Cuxirimay, by then known as Doña Angelina, records in his history of the Inca people what his wife told him of the events of those days, though disguising her identity:

At that time Atahualpa had a number of wives, among them one who was called Sancta [Cuxirimay], who was very fair skinned and very beautiful. And a certain Indian whom the *marqués* [Pizarro] had brought with him and who admired her, one day, when Atahualpa had left his chamber, entered there and seduced her by force; and returning to the chamber Atahualpa found him there, and shouted at him: 'Dog of the coast lands! you take my wife because I am a prisoner! for if I were not so, well do you know I would punish you and all your lineage and nation!' And in

fear the tongue fled and planned his revenge, though Atahualpa said nothing to anyone of this. A few days later, the tongue made it known that he had heard Atahualpa plan his escape, having ordered his warriors to approach nearby, and he informed the marqués of this, telling him that Atahualpa planned to kill every single Spaniard.²⁹

Betanzos adds that both the royal treasurer Alonso de Riquelme and Almagro believed the story and pressed Pizarro to execute Atahualpa. He also mentions that Atahualpa thought Almagro a miserable man for not having given him a fine dagger he much admired, and which Almagro had worn at their first meeting.

It is implausible, however, that Pizarro would have been swayed in his decision to execute Atahualpa by anyone's demands. It was a simple question of political expediency. He no longer needed Atahualpa for the gathering of his booty. Nor did he feel secure with the thought of freeing him as he had promised. Only once he was dead would Huáscar's defeated warriors march against his remaining armies. And it was Huáscar's warriors, more than anyone else, who demanded Atahualpa's execution.

Pizarro's brother Hernando, who would later claim to have disapproved of his action because it lacked the Crown's authority, was at that time in the Isthmus and about to sail for Spain. Hernando de Soto, who had offered to take Atahualpa to Spain – ostensibly for the same reason and possibly to further his own influence at court – was also absent from Cajamarca, engaged in a scouting sortie to investigate Felipillo's report, which proved to be without foundation.

Pedro Pizarro recalled that Atahualpa broke down in tears, telling Pizarro that there was no truth in Felipillo's story, and that not one single Indian in his entire empire 'would dare urinate without his permission'. López de Jerez recorded the following dialogue between the two men:

'What treachery is this?' Pizarro shouted at Atahualpa, 'forcing me to arm my men, having treated you with the honour of a brother?'

Atahualpa replied: 'Are you jesting with me? You are always making such jests. What reason would I have to annoy so valiant a company as you and your men? Do not jest with me.'

He then records that Pizarro ordered a chain to be brought and placed round Atahualpa's neck.³⁰

At approximately seven in the evening of 26 July, his neck, arms and feet manacled in chains, the Inca emperor was brought out of the chamber that had been his prison for almost eight months into the town's darkened square, the central area of which had been illuminated by torches, where he was tied to a stake and made to sit on a stool in front of the entire assembly of conquistadores. A witness recorded that he had continually repeated in quéchua: 'Why are they going to kill me? What have I or my sons or my wives ever done to them?'³¹ He was then addressed through an interpreter by the Friar Valverde and urged to accept baptism, but he made no reply until a Cañari tribesman whom Pizarro had appointed his executioner approached him. It was then, the horseman Lucas Martínez Vegazo recorded, that he began to cry out, entreating Valverde, as if he were agreeing with what had been demanded of him, and Valverde baptised him, giving him Pizarro's name of Francisco, and telling him that because of his repentance he would not be burnt alive as had been decreed. He once more began to cry out, gesturing with his hands and indicating the height of his children whom he said were very young, and pleading with Valverde to commend their safety to Pizarro. 'He wept and spoke to the interpreter,' recalled Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, 'and again he asked the marqués to care for his two sons and daughter he had left in Quito.'³² Many of the Inca lords and his women who had accompanied him in his imprisonment began to wail and to prostrate themselves on the ground, but by then the Cañari had been given the signal he had been waiting for and, with one wrench of each end of the rope he had tied around Atahualpa's neck, garrotted him. All that night his body remained in the square, seated on the stool and tied to the stake, his head slumped to one side, his arms and legs covered in his blood.

The events at Cajamarca were recorded by eight conquistadores. They were men neither schooled as historians nor possessed of any literary pretensions, but who were among the few of Pizarro's volunteers able to read and write. In a letter to the Audiencia of the island of Hispaniola, where he had stayed for a brief period on his return voyage to Spain, Hernando Pizarro had described only the principal events of his brother's march to Cajamarca, an account which was the first to reach Spain. So self-centred was his report

that he mentioned the name of no single conquistadore other than himself and his brother Pizarro. A copy of his letter was made by his brother's old enemy the chronicler and genealogist Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, which the latter incorporated in his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, written c. 1550, in the island's fortress of Santo Domingo, of which he was warden.

The Castilian Cristóbal de Mena, a veteran of the conquest of Nicaragua, who because of his displeasure with Pizarro had returned to Spain immediately after the distribution of Atahualpa's ransom, shortly afterwards published his *Conquista del Perú, llamada la Nueva Castilla*, one of the few chronicles highly critical of Pizarro. Mena was the first of the conquistadores from Cajamarca to return to Spain, and even though he had been present at Atahualpa's killing had managed to reach Seville on 5 December 1533, four weeks before Hernando Pizarro. Other than a meeting he is recorded to have had with one of Almagro's agents in Spain in 1536, nothing else is known of his life.

Mena's controversial account of the early Conquest was followed by the publication at Seville of *Verdadera Relación de la Conquista del Perú* by Pizarro's secretary Francisco López de Jerez, and written partly as a refutation of Mena's chronicle. It has always been assumed that because of a leg wound he had suffered during the capture of Atahualpa, López de Jerez had been forced to return to Spain directly from Cajamarca, arriving at the port of Seville, as he affirms in his chronicle, in June 1534. The few surviving records show that he married for a second time, to the daughter of an hidalgo family from Seville, and that in 1554, signing himself solely Francisco López, he was granted permission to return to Peru as notary to the Audiencia of Lima. It was a post historians have always believed he never filled, believing that he remained in Spain until his death, the place and date of which are unknown.

His presence as notary to the Audiencia of Lima between 1559 and 1565, however, can be established by the words added to the final page of the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón's testimonial to the Crown: 'inscribing my signature Francisco López, who had been among the men who had gone immediately afterwards [from Cajamarca] to place Cuzco under the royal jurisdiction, in the company of the reserves of the Captain Hernando de Soto and Mansio Serra and Martínez Vegazo as they marched

southward from Vilcasbamba to Cuzco, all of which he witnessed'.³³ The only other person at Cajamarca of the same name was an illiterate surgeon-barber who served on the later march to Cuzco, but only as far as Jauja. He returned to Spain in 1535.

The foot soldier Pedro Sancho de la Hoz replaced López de Jerez as Pizarro's secretary and was the author of *Relación del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*, dated 1534, which he sent to the Emperor Charles V, the original manuscript of which has been lost. A copy was translated into Italian by the Venetian geographer Gian Battista Ramusio and published in 1550 in his third volume of *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, an account of the discovery of the New World which to this day serves as a primary source for the history of the Americas. Sancho de la Hoz left for Spain two years after writing his chronicle, but like so many of the returning conquistadores he soon dissipated his share of the Cajamarca and Cuzco treasure, and was given permission to return to Peru in 1539. Eight years later, during the settlement of Chile, he was executed by one of the conquistadore Pedro de Valdivia's captains on a charge of sedition, his head displayed in the main square of its capital at Santiago.

Miguel de Estete, a Riojano from Santo Domingo de la Calzada, had been one of the men Hernando de Soto had brought with him from Nicaragua. During Atahualpa's imprisonment he had accompanied Hernando Pizarro to the coastal temple at Pachacamac, his description of which López de Jerez incorporated in his chronicle. On his return to Spain in 1534 Estete settled at Valladolid, where he possibly wrote his account *Noticia del Perú*. The date and place of his death, too, are unknown.

Juan Ruiz de Arce, an Extremaduran who had lived in Jamaica and in Honduras, returned to Spain a year after Cajamarca, where he was received at court. In the absence of the Emperor Charles V from the court he records that he and other conquistadores who had returned from Peru

went to kiss the hands of the empress. She received us very well, thanking us for the services we had rendered, and offering to reward us; and so great was her kindness that anything we wished was given us, and there was not one disappointed man among us who left the court. There were twelve of us conquistadores in Madrid, and we each spent there a great deal of money. As the emperor was absent, the court was empty of his courtiers, so that each day we greatly enjoyed ourselves, though some

of us remained without a penny. We jousted and took part in mounted cane fights, which were so splendid and grand it was something to admire. And after we had concluded our business there, each one of us marched off to his own village and land, and without much of the money we had originally brought with us.³⁴

As the manuscript he wrote for his children attests, Ruiz de Arce was one of the few conquistadores not to have squandered his fortune at court, retiring instead to his native township of Albuquerque. His account, consisting of seventeen folio pages, remained unknown until its discovery and publication in 1933.

Pedro Pizarro and Diego de Trujillo were among the few veterans still alive and able to dictate their memoirs at the behest of the Viceroy Toledo. Pedro Pizarro sent his memoir, dated 7 February 1571, the following year to Spain, which was subsequently lost. Having participated in the events of the Conquest from the age of fifteen, when he had first enlisted as one of his kinsman's volunteers in his native city of Toledo, he became one of the wealthiest encomenderos of Peru and one of the founders of its beautiful colonial city of Arequipa, where he died in 1587. Pedro Pizarro is recorded to have had ten legitimate children and one illegitimate mestiza daughter. In the early seventeenth century a copy of his manuscript was acquired from one of his descendants by the Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo.

Trujillo, who was illiterate and dictated his memoir, left Peru shortly after the Conquest with his share of booty for Spain, where he lived for some ten years in the township of his name in Extremadura. By then destitute, he returned to Peru, where because of his past service he was awarded a small encomienda, and lived out his days in Cuzco. An old man, seated outside his house like the old peasant he was, he became a familiar sight, recalling the glories of his past youth to whoever would listen to him. One of his redeeming virtues was the kindness he showed in his old age to the orphaned children of Atahualpa, Diego and Francisco Hillaquita. Abandoned in Cuzco's monastery of Santo Domingo, where Almagro had taken them after bringing them from Quito, they had remained under the care of its Dominican friars, possibly earning their living simply as servants. Contrary to his promises to their father on the day of his execution, Pizarro made no provision for them. However, Trujillo obtained legal custody of the two boys and for several years gave them a home in his

small house in Cuzco. His manuscript was discovered in 1934 in the library of the Royal Palace in Madrid.

FOUR

Cuzco

From these realms has been taken such an infinity of gold and silver and pearls and riches to the kingdoms of Spain ...

The horseman Mansio Serra de Leguizamón

By the time Hernando de Soto returned to Cajamarca an air of desolation had settled on the town, reflected in the faces of the conquistadores, who in the weeks since his departure had attempted as best they could to come to terms with the events that had taken place. Soto had ridden as far north as Cajas with his squadron of horse, but not a trace of the Inca army had been found.

His reaction to Atahualpa's death was vocal and disparaging. He had been told of the manner in which the Inca emperor had died and how the following day his body had been taken to the makeshift chapel of the town, where he had been given a Christian burial in his baptised name of Francisco, a name chosen for him by the Friar Valverde in honour of Pizarro. He was also to learn how Atahualpa's distraught wives had searched for his spirit in the chamber where they had shared his imprisonment, playing their drums and cymbals, and calling out his name, and that one of the women, Cuxirimay, had tried to kill herself, and that a number of others had killed themselves.

The burial Mass had been said by the priest Francisco de Morales, who had come to Cajamarca with Almagro's reinforcements and who would take back to Spain as a memento the tassel he had removed from the emperor's headdress. A few of the conquistadores had collected other items of his clothing, which in the years to come would serve as family heirlooms and as proof of their presence at Cajamarca. It was a presence which in time established the nobility of Peru's encomendero aristocracy, giving preference to those who had taken part in Atahualpa's capture.

Pizarro's motive for ordering the killing of Atahualpa was soon made apparent with his decision to appoint a new emperor to unite the thousands of warriors from Huáscar's defeated armies and from the subject tribes camped in the valley, whom he would need as auxiliaries on his march to Cuzco, the capture of which he knew was imperative for the success of the Conquest. Taking Cuzco was also paramount in the minds of Almagro's men, who saw the sacking of the Inca capital as their only means of acquiring the wealth that had brought them so far afield, and from which as yet only Pizarro's men had profited. Pizarro's choice as emperor was Huáscar's young brother Túpac Huallpa, who had sought shelter at Cajamarca, and who had been so scared of Atahualpa that he had slept on the floor of Pizarro's chamber the entire time before the execution.

After fasting for three days, and attended by his sister-wife Azarpay and Chalcuchima, the young Inca prince was invested with the symbols of Inca sovereignty and received the homage of the Inca lords and caciques gathered there, each of them offering him a white feather in token of their allegiance. Then, kneeling before Pizarro, he swore fealty to him and to his unknown king. Among his relatives who took part in the celebrations was one of Atahualpa's sister-wives Tocto Chimbo, who was renowned for her beauty, and whom Pizarro awarded to Soto – possibly to temper his discontent. It marked the beginning of a love affair that would end in tragedy for the young woman, who at her baptism several years later was given the name of Doña Leonor, and who would eventually be abandoned by Soto and die a pauper's death.¹

Sixteen days after Atahualpa's killing, Pizarro's small army broke camp and abandoned the valley. It was a scene reminiscent of a medieval army: the steel-helmeted conquistadores carrying their pikes and lances, the horsemen in double file, and behind them the Inca and tribal warriors, spearmen from the Andes and archers from the Amazon, the Indian scouts running ahead with the small vanguard of cavalry led by Soto. At the rear of the column were the pack mules and llamas, carrying part of the Cajamarca treasure and guarded by a separate squadron of horse. Behind them were the camp women and the Indian and African slave porters, including the handful of Spanish women who had come with Almagro's men, among them the Morisca slave Beatriz de Salcedo, who claimed to have been the first Spanish woman at Cajamarca, and who was owned by the Crown official García de Salcedo. And in between the columns of warriors could

be seen the canopied litters of the young Inca emperor and of his women. It took almost a day for the valley to empty. And by nightfall those of Atahualpa's few servants who had remained in the town had disinterred his body and conveyed it to Quito where, in accordance with the custom of his people and his imperial status, he would be buried as a god.

For almost two months the great flow of warriors and those who accompanied them followed the stone roads and trails along which their Indian scouts led them, dwarfed by the vast cordillera of the Andes, until eventually they entered the valley and town of Jauja which lay on the banks of the Mantaro River. The horseman Lucas Martínez Vegazo recalled: '... in the same valley of Jauja Mayta Yupanqui, Atahualpa's warrior chief, in command of a great number of warriors, attacked us Spaniards and we fought the Indians until we broke and dispersed their squadrons, pursuing them and killing them for some twelve leagues.'² The warriors had been massed on the far bank of the town's bridges, which they had burned, and Almagro's cavalry, fording the river, had charged them several times before dispersing them. It was the first engagement the Spaniards had fought against Atahualpa's army, the success of which had depended on their cavalry and the Indian auxiliaries that had followed them.

For two weeks they remained encamped in the town awaiting the arrival of the treasurer Alonso de Riquelme's baggage train; it was here that Pizarro founded the first Spanish municipality of the conquered territory. Pedro de Cieza de León describes Jauja as possessing at the time some thirty thousand inhabitants, with fine stone Inca buildings, workshops for silver and gold, a large temple dedicated to the sun, and a house for its *mamacona*. He records that many of its religious monuments were destroyed at the instigation of the Dominican Valverde. However, within days of Riquelme's arrival Túpac Huallpa died. Many believed he had been poisoned at the instigation of Chalcuchima. Conscious of the effect his death might have on his Indian auxiliaries, Pizarro once more ordered the advance on Cuzco and sent Hernando de Soto and a squadron of horse to scout the road ahead. It would take Soto's squadron several days to reach the township of Vilcas and the Apurímac, the great river canyon of the Andes, and to climb its great mountain ridge of Vilcacongá, some 12,000 feet high and 28 miles west of Cuzco. An account of Soto's reconnaissance of some 250 miles of route was left by several of his horsemen.

After we had defeated the natives of the valley of Jauja the Governor sent up to a hundred and twenty men, footmen and cavalry, to march with him for the seizure of Cuzco, and ordered that the rest of the people remain in the valley with the Treasurer Riquelme in guard of the treasure of His Majesty, which was some million pesos of gold, more or less, and also in guard of the treasure of those who were with the Governor ...

And on the road the Governor ordered the Captain Hernando de Soto to go ahead, taking with him sixty or seventy footmen and horsemen and we went in advance, scouting out the land till at dawn we reached the township of Vilcas ...

At Vilcas we saw that the warriors had gone foraging and had left their tents with a few women and some Indians. And we sacked everything that was there. And being alerted to our presence, their warriors returned and attacked us in very rough terrain, at first getting the better of us. At ten o'clock, more or less, that morning the warrior chief Mayta Yupanqui regrouped his warriors who came upon us in their squadrons, comprising lancers, archers and sling throwers. And again we repulsed them, though some of our men were wounded and a white horse was killed, belonging to a soldier called Tabuyo, and which at the time was worth some three thousand pesos of gold, if not more; and the natives captured him, and at the very moment they were about to kill him, beating him and thrusting him with their lances, the Captain Hernando de Soto saved him, proving himself a gentleman and person of much honour ...

After we had defeated them the Captain led us on our march through canyons of great height, crossing the native bridges, some of which had been burnt and destroyed, and which were of great difficulty to pass; fording also rivers, unaware of the danger of their rapids, being as it was winter, and the waters at a high level ...

And when we reached the Apurímac River, and being unable to get to its bridge before the Indians, who with the straw and sand they carried set fire to it, we were forced to take our horses and walk below on the banks of the river which was rising and flowing at great speed. And not knowing where to ford, Bernabé Picón led his horse into the swirling waters and found a way of crossing at much risk to his life, and thus we were all able to cross over. And in this manner we reached a point at some six leagues in distance from Cuzco, where we were forced to climb

a very high mountain ridge called Vilcacongá, and near the top of which we were attacked by a vast number of warriors who were on a slope and on the edges of its ravine; and they lunged themselves at us with much shouting, killing five of our horsemen and other horses ...

And as I [Lucas Martínez Vegazo] fought beside the Captain Soto I witnessed his bravery, and how his horse had got stuck in the ridge, and how he took hold and mounted another horse that belonged to one of our dead, and how he continued in the fighting. But we were unable to capture the top of the mountain because of the great number of Indians, who as night fell retreated to its highest pinnacle, where they lit many fires; and the captain and us men also retired to a distance of two crossbow shots, where we held vigil all night in our armour and with our arms ...

That night, I [Mansio Serra de Leguizamón] alone was chosen to return along the route we had taken to show the governors where to ford the river, and bring them to where we were. And in great danger I returned through the lines of the Indians who surrounded us, and I was able to inform Don Diego de Almagro of what had taken place, and to show him and those who were with him the way to where the captain was besieged, and urge them there at all speed. And having informed Don Diego and those who were with him, within hours they relieved the captain and his men after marching a full day, and in great danger because of the multitude of Indians. And on the orders of Don Diego I remained by the river in guard of it, and so as to show the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro and the rearguard where to ford, and the route to take; and this I showed him, and with all speed we marched to relieve Don Diego and His Majesty's servitors, where I helped bury our dead and cure our wounded of the royal encampment, and also bury our horses so the Indians would not discover our losses.³

In his memoir Diego de Trujillo recorded:

... that night we were in great peril, for it was snowing and many of the wounded were suffering from the cold and we were surrounded and could see the fires lit on all sides ... and at midnight from the direction of Limatambo we heard Alconchel's trumpet call which gave us great courage and inspired us to continue fighting the Indians, who had also

heard his trumpet sound, and realising that our men were coming to our aid they extinguished the fires and moved towards Cuzco ... and it was so dark that one could not even see the glint of a coin, nothing but their sound.⁴

‘After the killing of five Spaniards,’ Lucas Martínez Vegazo stated, ‘and with less than a shot left of our crossbows, and being positioned high up the crest and encircled by the natives, the rescue arrived in the middle of the night, in groups of ten and twenty’.⁵ ‘If that same night,’ observed Pedro de Alconchel, ‘the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro and this witness and other horsemen had not come to their aid, some thirty men, more or less, not one of them would have escaped.’⁶

The relief of Vilcaconga and Alconchel’s solitary clarion call announcing to the beleaguered conquistadores the arrival of Almagro’s column was recalled for posterity by the historian William Prescott in his *History of the Conquest of Peru*; it was the most important battle fought since their departure from Cajamarca, and in effect secured the Conquest. For had Soto’s cavalry been annihilated, as could so easily have been the case, Pizarro’s inability to confront Quisquis’s warriors without his horsemen would have led to the massacre of his entire army. But Soto’s decision to ride ahead without waiting for Almagro at Vilcas was viewed by Pizarro not only as an act of insubordination and reckless bravura, but as a blatant attempt to take possession of Cuzco ahead of his forces, and by so doing lay claim to the governorship he had been promised for his participation in the Conquest. Nothing is known about any exchange of words between the two, but never again would Pizarro allow Soto to lead an expedition without the presence of his two brothers, Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro.

On reaching Vilcaconga Pizarro ordered his men to regroup in the neighbouring village of Jaquijahuana, where they were joined by the Inca Prince Manco, a sixteen-year-old half-brother of the Emperor Huáscar. ‘I saw him meet us between Jaquijahuana and the mountain of Vilcaconga,’ recalled Mansio Serra de Leguizamón many years later, ‘and greet the Marqués Pizarro and all those who were with him in the conquest of this land, and to whom he swore fealty, and from that time he was acknowledged [by Pizarro] as lord of this realm.’⁷ The horseman Juan de Pancorbo recorded:

He [Manco Inca] gave the *marqués* an account of the treachery of Chalcuchima, whom we had brought with us as our prisoner, and of the instructions he had given against us to his messengers he had sent Quisquis, another of Atahualpa's chiefs, who was in command of Cuzco and of its outlying regions; for he [Manco Inca] had brought with him these messengers whom he had ordered captured on the road and whom he handed over to the *marqués*. And this witness heard them tell how they had been sent by Chalcuchima to inform Quisquis that we were mortal and had difficulty climbing mountain passes, and that we gave our lances to our *yanacunas* who came behind us, and that our horses tired easily, and how we could be attacked in certain passes ... this information they had recorded in their coloured string cords [quipu] ...

And the *marqués*, seeing the truth of what he was told said to Chalcuchima: 'Dog! Is this what you have kept from me? How could you deceive me?'

And that same day the *marqués* ordered he be burnt in the square of Jaquijahuana, and I saw him being burnt and shout aloud, and the little I could understand of what he said, it appeared to me he was invoking Pachacamac and Huanacuari, his principal huacas, and calling for Quisquis to avenge his death.⁸

Pizarro's brutal killing of Atahualpa's warrior chief was intended as a stark warning to his Indian auxiliaries that he would not tolerate betrayal. It would also make the young Inca prince, who had survived Quisquis's retribution against the imperial panacas, only too conscious of the precarious role accorded him by Pizarro as his puppet ruler. The conquistadores had witnessed the evidence of the retribution Quisquis and Chalcuchima had exacted on Huáscar's immediate family, for they came upon their decomposed remains – men, women and children – strapped to poles by the road leading to the city. 'We had seen for ourselves more than 150 corpses hung on the road,' recalled Juan de Pancorbo, 'whom we were told were Inca lords who had been killed by Chalcuchima and who had been placed there to remind their people of their tyranny for which they had met such cruel deaths.'⁹

Within the hour of their advance on Cuzco the conquistadores were to sight the massed squadrons of Quisquis's warriors, who had positioned

themselves in front of the approach to the city. Though in their evidence the conquistadores varied in their estimates of the number of warriors – from 50,000 to 100,000 – their gross exaggeration was possibly more out of ignorance, for they had never before seen such multitudes, whose numbers probably amounted to about 30,000 men. ‘The governors began their advance on the city,’ stated Juan Pantiel de Salinas, ‘half a league away Quisquis with a great number of men, which as far as I could tell were some eighty thousand in number, came out in its defence’.¹⁰ Lucas Martínez Vegazo recalled that ‘Almost half a league before reaching the city we were once more surrounded by a multitude of the Natives, so many were they, they seemed to cover the entire hills. And we advanced to a plain in between the hills, together with the Adelantado Don Diego and the Captain Soto ... and so as not to break our ranks the Captain Soto ordered us not to fight back until we were to hear him cry “Santiago!” and shortly after, as we seemed to be engulfed by the Natives, he shouted: “Santiago! Santiago!” and our squadron charged and we fought them till nightfall’.¹¹

With the retreat of Quisquis’s squadrons the conquistadores advanced to a position above the city, out of which some two hundred Inca lords came to offer their allegiance to Pizarro.¹² As dawn broke across the mountains the Spaniards beheld the city for the first time. It lay below them in a vast valley that stretched as far as the eye could see: a small river flowed through its centre; stone and thatch-roofed palaces surrounded its gigantic central square, its outer buildings lined by a perimeter wall broken at intervals by various towers. It was as large as any city they had ever seen in Europe. On a nearby hill was the massive and deserted temple fortress of Sacsahuaman. At approximately midday in battle order they entered the city: ‘in all we were no more than one hundred and twenty men,’ Bernabé Picón recalled.¹³

On the morning Pizarro would record in a letter to the Cabildo of Panama as Saturday 15 November 1533, Hernando de Soto’s vanguard of horsemen descended over the brow of the Carmenca hill and galloped two abreast into the city’s narrow cobbled streets that led to its great square of Aucaypata and, in the words of Serra de Leguizamón, ‘took possession of its strongholds’.¹⁴ Although most of the city’s palaces and public buildings had been set on fire by Quisquis’s retreating army, Pedro Pizarro recorded that

‘there were so many people who came to see us that they covered the entire countryside and mountains’.¹⁵ Amid the smoke of Cuzco’s smouldering buildings, Soto’s bearded and weary horsemen positioned themselves at either end of the square, their lances raised in salute, and to their cries of ‘Santiago y Castilla!’ echoing across the vast quadrangle Pizarro led his infantry in battle order.

Pizarro made little overt demonstration of his joy and sense of achievement at having marched his small army across the cordillera of the Andes to capture one of the greatest cities of the New World. His secretary Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, who accompanied him that day and who understood his master’s reserve, described the city as

being the principal seat of these lords, it is so grand and beautiful it would be worthy of being seen even in Spain, filled as it is with the palaces of its lords; for no poor people live there, and each lord possesses his own house, as do the caciques, even though they do not live there permanently. The majority of these houses are made of stone, and the others are part stone; many are of brick, and are constructed with great symmetry, as are their streets, in the form of a cross, all of them straight and paved, and through which run drains, also of stone. Their only detriment is that they are narrow, allowing only a single horseman to ride on one side of the drainage. This city is situated at the height of a mountain, and there are many buildings on its side and embankments, and in the plain below.

Its square is a quadrangle and in the most part flat and paved with pebbles; alongside the square there are four mansions of their lords, which are the principal palaces of the city, painted and constructed in stone; the finest of which is the palace [Amarucancha] of the emperor, the old cacique [Huayna Cápac], the gate of which is of white marble and decorated with various other colours, and which has also other buildings, with flat roofs, that are also worthy of note. There are in the city many more buildings of much grandeur: two rivers run on either side, the source of which is a league above Cuzco, and which flow for a further two leagues below to the valley; the waters of which are both clear and clean running, and each has a bridge crossing into the city.

Above, on the mountain, which on the side facing the city is circular and very arid, there is a great stone fortress of great beauty, which has

large watchtowers that overlook the city, and which gives its appearance even greater splendour. Inside of which there are many buildings and a main tower, of cylindrical shape, with four or five smaller towers, one above the other: the chambers and halls within are small, though their walls are of fine workmanship, and so well assembled, their stone joinery in perfect order, like that which can be seen in Spain, one against the other, though without any evidence of sand, and so smooth they appear polished. It possesses so many adjacent towers and courtyards that a person would be unable to inspect them all in a day: and many Spaniards who have travelled in Lombardy and other foreign realms say that they have never seen the like of such a fortress or castle. It could garrison five thousand Spaniards: neither can it be besieged by battering ram, nor can it be mined from underground, because of its mountainous position.¹⁶

The population of the city, numbering possibly 10,000 people at the time, was divided into two distinct groups: Hanan Cuzco, the senior military and secular grouping, and Hurin Cuzco, its mystical and spiritual duality. Even some twenty years after the Conquest at a tribunal held in the city of Potosí the Indian witnesses referred to the Spanish Emperor Charles V as the ‘Hatun, [*apu*, lord] of Castile’, the term for the dominant Hanan grouping.¹⁷

Along the Huatanay River and its lower valley were housed several thousand of the servants of the Inca lords, known as *yanacuna*, whose responsibilities included cleaning the city’s streets and the maintenance of its buildings. Also living in the lower valley were the *mitimae*, communities of subject tribes, who lived under the rule of their caciques, and who in their thousands were brought each year to Cuzco from their tribal lands for their service of labour. In a rotating system called *mita*, which the Spaniards would themselves later adopt, the tribesmen served as bonded workers in any one of the four regions of the empire, in either agriculture, mining or as warriors in the imperial armies. The conquistadore Pedro Alonso Carrasco recalled how ‘the Incas took their people from one region to another, those from Quito to Cuzco, and those of Cuzco to even more remote lands’.¹⁸ All told some two hundred thousand people, in an area of some 40 square miles, helped sustain the life of the Inca capital.

Laid out in the shape of a puma, the ancient deity of the Chavín civilisation of the central Andes, the city’s main square of Aucaypata was

paved in stone and lined with sand brought from the beaches of the Pacific, and flanked by the thatch-roofed palaces of its living and dead emperors, their stone chambers hung with sheets of gold. An idea of the sheer size of the palace of Amarucancha can perhaps be gained by comparing it to an adjoining but lesser structure, known as the Acclahuasi, which served as the residence of the *mamacona*, who numbered some one and a half thousand women, chosen for their beauty from each of the *suyos* of the empire. The palace of Casana, which Pizarro requisitioned for himself and his two brothers, contained a hall enclosure that could hold 3,000 people. Each palace would have contained several courtyards and stockades of llamas, alpacas and vicuñas, most of which livestock had been taken by Quisquis's warriors.

Pedro de Cieza de León left a description of the city's great Temple of the Sun, known as Coricancha, based on the evidence given him by Cuzco's surviving Inca princes and the few remaining veterans of Cajamarca:

Its circumference is some four hundred paces, surrounded by a high wall of the finest masonry and precision ... in all Spain I have not seen anything to compare to these walls, nor the placement of their stones, other than the tower known as Calahorra, by the bridge of Córdoba, and another edifice I saw in Toledo when I went to present the first part of my chronicle to the Prince Don Felipe [the future King Philip II], which is the hospital the Archbishop Tavera commissioned to be built ... The stone is somewhat black in colour, rough, yet excellently cut. There are many doors and their arches are of a fine construction; at mid height of the walls runs a band of gold, of some seventeen inches in width and two in depth. The doors and arches are also embossed with sheets of this metal. Within the enclosure are four houses, not very large but of similar construction, the interior and exterior walls of which are adorned with sheets of the same metal, and their ceilings are of thatch.

Built into the inner walls of these houses are two stone benches, illuminated by shafts of sunlight and decorated with precious stones and emeralds. On these benches sat the emperors, and if any person would have done the same he would have been condemned to death ... at each of the entrances were porters who guarded the virgins, of whom there were many, being the daughters of the principal lords and chosen for their great beauty, and who would remain in the temple till old age; and if any

would have had dealings with men they would have been killed or buried alive, as would also be the man's punishment. These women were called *mamacona*, who knew no other role than to sew and to paint the woollen garments for service in the temple, and in the making of chicha, which is a [maize] wine they make, and of which containers were filled in ample quantity ...

In one of these houses, the grandest of all, was the figure of the sun, of great size and made of gold, and encased with precious stones. There also were placed the mummies of the Incas who had reigned in Cuzco, each surrounded by a great quantity of treasure ...

Around the temple house were a number of smaller buildings, which were the dwellings of the Indians who served in the temple, and an enclosure where they kept the white llamas and the children and men they would sacrifice. There was also a garden, the earth and grass of which was of fine gold and where artificial maize grew, also of gold, as were their stems and ears, and so well planted that even in a strong wind they would stand. As well, there were twenty llamas of gold with their lambs, and shepherds with their stone slings and staffs, all of the same metal.¹⁹

Within hours of their entry into the city the Spaniards began a systematic looting of its palaces and temple, which had already been partly denuded of treasures by the pillaging of Quisquis's warriors and by what had already been removed for Atahualpa's tribute. For days on end, in an orgy of vandalism and destruction, with their swords, poniards and lances, the conquistadores hacked and stripped from the walls and alcoves of Cuzco's buildings every artefact they could find: sheets of gold and silver, emeralds and pearls, carvings and sculptures. Overnight the city was transformed into a hell-hole of marauding soldiers, their armour and helmets adorned with the jewels they so freely plundered, intoxicated by the euphoria of their victory and by the native maize wine they drank, which fuelled their ferocity and rape of the city's women, old and young alike: a brutality only alluded to by the chroniclers. Even Pedro Pizarro, normally the most reliable of historians, and possibly to hide his own part in the mayhem, refused to acknowledge that there had been any looting in the city, referring only to Pizarro's order restraining his soldiers, which was possibly given much later.

In an age that had witnessed the looting of Rome by the army of their emperor, and which within ten years would see the pillage of medieval England's Catholic cathedrals and monasteries, the sacking of Cuzco needs to be seen in the context of the time, and the brutality that ensued as equal to any perpetrated in contemporary Europe. Both Spaniard and Inca had traditionally rewarded their soldiers and warriors with the booty of battle: gold, silver, women and male slaves. The sacking of Cuzco proved no exception. Pedro de Cieza de León wrote that Quisquis, who had taken with him most of the city's *mamacona* as concubines for his warriors, had also looted a great quantity of treasure. For Pizarro and Almagro, as at Cajamarca, the treasure would be the means of repaying the loans made them by a number of the conquistadores who had supplied them with ships and arms, as in the case of Hernando de Soto, and also their investors in Panama, merchants and Crown officials.

It would, however, be several months before Pizarro would allow the official distribution of the treasure said to have been half the amount in gold and four times that in silver of the Cajamarca tribute, and which possibly represented almost three quarters of the entire artistic heritage of Inca civilisation; its gold and silver sculptures melted into ingots, which would one day be used to decorate the altars of Spain's great cathedrals and transform its looters into the grandees of a new social order.

All the good gold that had been collected, most of which were artefacts, was smelted by the Indians who were knowledgeable in that task. And the amount in weight was some 580,000 pesos of pure gold. A fifth of which was set apart for His Majesty ... and of the silver some 215,000 marks were smelted, more or less, of which 170,000 marks was of fine silver in clean bars, the rest was of a lesser quality, mixed with other metals taken from the mines. The building in which the smelting took place was a remarkable sight: stacked with bars of gold, each weighing eight or ten pounds; there also were pots and jars and diverse figurines used by these lords, all in gold; and among the most singular objects to be seen were four very large llamas, and some ten or twelve life-size figures of the native women, also of the finest gold, and so beautiful and so well sculptured that they appeared to be almost alive: they were held by the [Inca] lords in such reverence, as if they were the rulers of the entire world, for it had been their custom to dress them in the most

splendid of clothing, and whom they worshipped as living goddesses, giving them food to eat, and speaking to them. These sculptures were to form part of the Royal Fifth of the Crown's share, together with other similar sculptures that were made of silver.²⁰

In the first days of his occupation Pizarro had feared an attack by Quisquis, who had left the city with some ten thousand men and sought shelter in the westerly Cuntisuyo mountains. As various of his men testify, Pizarro secured the defence of the city, ordering a squadron of his cavalry to remain saddled and mounted at all times. Most of the men were billeted within the safety of the large fortress tower of Atun Cancha, at the far end of the great square, and which according to Pedro Pizarro had only one entry gate.

After the initial and frenzied looting a semblance of discipline had been restored among the conquistadores. After hiding their own illicit hoards of loot, they had spent hours transporting the larger pieces and artefacts of gold, silver and jewels into the great chamber of the palace of Casana: carvings of men and women, phalluses, animals and plants, images of the moon and of the sun, baskets laden with emeralds and pearls, even sheets of gold, which because of their enormous size were strapped to ropes and dragged by their horses. Diego de Trujillo recorded that when they gained entry into the temple of Coricancha they were confronted by the Villaoma, who berated them with the words: 'How dare you enter here? For only after a year of fasting and barefooted can any one of you enter! And taking no notice of him we entered.'²¹ One of the most celebrated looters of the Inca temple was the young Biscayan horseman Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, a descendant of the Cid, who had been born in the Castilian township of Pinto, south of Madrid.²²

At the time the Spaniards first entered the city of Cuzco the gold Inca image of the sun from its temple was taken in booty by a nobleman and conquistadore by the name of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, whom I knew and who was still alive when I came to Spain, which he lost in a night of gambling, and where, according to the Father Acosta, was born the refrain: 'He gambled the sun before the dawn.'²³

It was an act of such wanton abandon that it would be commemorated in the taverns of the Indies for years to come. In his will Serra de Leguizamón records the value of the disc: ‘... which was of gold and which the Incas kept in the house of the sun, which is now the convent of Santo Domingo, where they practised their idolatries, and which I believe was worth some two thousand pesos of gold.’²⁴ It is more than probable that the gold image he referred to, if not only because of the relatively low value he placed upon it, was a smaller sun disc of the temple’s sanctuary, and one which he may have looted for himself or been given by Pizarro as a reward for his conduct at Vilcacogna, and not the Punchao, which is recorded to have adorned Coricancha’s main altar and which Quisquis would undoubtedly have looted because of its symbolic value and worth. Well might the young hidalgo some forty years later somewhat arrogantly remind his sovereign King Philip II of the wealth of the Indies, of which the Spanish Crown had been the principal beneficiary:

From these realms has been taken such an infinity of gold and silver and pearls and riches to the realms of Spain, and which are daily sent to Your Majesty and his kingdom; all of which has been made possible by the conquest, discovery and pacification of these realms by the Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro and those who accompanied him, and the greatest service ever recorded in either ancient or modern history any vassals have rendered their monarch; all at their own cost and endeavour and without any expenditure of the Majesty of the King Don Carlos, our emperor and lord, as is well known, and for which the crowns of Castile and León have been so greatly endowed.²⁵

Other than the Punchao, the Spaniards failed to find the Inca war huaca, a square stone of great size encased in gold and jewels, and the Muru Urco, a giant gold chain in the shape of a snake with the head of an anaconda, which the Emperor Huayna Cápac had commissioned to mark the birth of his son Huáscar. The chain had been used during the religious festivals at Cuzco and had stretched the entire length of the city’s square. For years to come Peru’s colonists would attempt to discover its supposed location in the waters of the lake at Urcos, south-east of Cuzco. And like the great treasures from the Inca temple of Copacabana, at Lake Titicaca, not a trace has ever been found of the booty undoubtedly taken by Quisquis’s warriors.

Garcilaso de la Vega recorded that ‘during the seven or eight years that followed these events, when the Spaniards were in control of their empire, treasure was still being discovered in and around the city. When its buildings had been allocated to its conquistadores, it happened that in one of them – a former royal palace called Amarucancha – which [for a while and in part] became the property of Antonio Altamarino, a horseman was galloping in its courtyard, when his horse sank its hoof into a hole. When they went to inspect the hole, thinking it was the bed of a former stream running under the palace, they found that it was the mouth of a large gold vessel. These vessels are made in various sizes by the Indians to serve as vats for brewing. With it were many other silver and gold vessels to the value of 80,000 ducats. And in a part of the house of the *mamacona* [*Aclla Huasi*] which had been given to Pedro del Barco and was later owned by the apothecary Hernando de Segovia whom I knew, a treasure worth some 72,000 ducats was found. [Ducats: gold coin of 23¾ carats fine.] With this and more than 20,000 he had earned at his trade, he returned to Spain, and I saw him in Seville, where he died a few days after his arrival of sheer misery and grief at having left Cuzco.’²⁶

The sacking of Cuzco took place without any opposition from its Inca lords, nor even from the young Inca Prince Manco, which illustrates the terror the city’s inhabitants must have felt for the conquistadores. The only disquiet recorded was that of the Villaoma, who would eventually abandon Manco’s court and take refuge in the Cuntisuyo mountains. One of the few other symbolic acts of defiance was made by the priestess guardian of the oracle shrine at the Apurímac River. On learning of the approach of Pizarro’s army on their march to Cuzco, she had plunged to her death from her mountain canyon into the river below. It was there a century later that a new reed bridge was constructed across the river canyon and named in honour of San Luis Rey, to be immortalised in Thornton Wilder’s novella of that name.

On 23 March 1534, and only after the distribution of the city’s treasure did Pizarro establish Cuzco as a Spanish municipality, in words which convey the mindset of men who publicly saw themselves as the spiritual heirs of those who had achieved the reconquest of Muslim Spain:

I, Francisco Pizarro, Knight of the Order of Santiago, servant and vassal of His Majesty the Emperor King Don Carlos, Our Lord and First Gentleman of Spain, Adelantado in his name, Captain-General and Governor of these kingdoms of New Castile, wishing to follow the custom of our ancestors and the order they possessed, and of those whom His Majesty commanded for such great service of God, Our Lord, to augment our Holy Catholic Faith and the good conversion of the natives we have defeated in these remote lands, separated from the knowledge of the Holy Faith, and whom by its word were deemed servitors and brothers of ours and descendants of our first father, I wish to continue the settlement of these kingdoms which I have already commenced, in the name of Their Majesties. And wishing to thus continue by founding in this great city, the headship of all the land and sovereignty of the people who there live, and where I am, and at present reside, a town settlement of Spaniards, of those who accompanied me in the conquest of all these lands and of this city, having risked great hardship to their persons and lives and loss of estate in the name of Your Majesty; and thus commend to the service of God, Our Lord, and distribute among them the lands they have won in compensation and satisfaction of their endeavours.²⁷

Shortly after his proclamation Pizarro appointed eighty-eight encomenderos to his municipality. The *repartamientos*, distributions, of encomiendas were in effect primarily allocations of Indians from various subject tribes encamped in the Cuzco region as *mitimae*, tributary labourers, of the Inca lords. Each encomendero was awarded a cacique of a tribe, together with his subject people, men, women and children, and obliged to pay him tribute twice yearly in gold, livestock and food. The lands of the tribe would also revert to the encomendero and would form part of his feudal domain, where he could also exercise the right to use his tribesmen as warriors in his private armies, or as labourers and miners in other regions of the colony, imitating the Inca system of *mita*, tributary labour. Some encomenderos, among them Pizarro and his brothers, were awarded numerous caciques and several thousand tribesmen. It was a system mirrored in the encomiendas of reconquered Muslim Andalucía and Murcia, and which had been established in Spain's colonies, and was little more than a form of slavery.

The palaces and buildings of Cuzco were also distributed by Pizarro to his men. Building by building the city witnessed the eviction of its lords and their families. In addition to his palace of Casana, which dominated the central square of Aucaypata, Pizarro was later to requisition the entire neighbouring valley of the Yucay, north of Cuzco, once the personal fiefdom of Emperor Huayna Cápac and known today as the 'Sacred Valley of the Incas'. Almagro was awarded Emperor Huáscar's palace of Colcampata, which overlooked the northern approach to the city. Pizarro's brother Hernando and Hernando de Soto were given equal shares of the palace of Amarucancha, which had belonged to the Emperor Huáscar's panaca of Túpac Yupanqui. Both of Pizarro's younger brothers were allocated one of the principal palaces in the city.

The rich land distributions Pizarro made to the few missionaries who had accompanied his expedition are also symbolic of the significant role they would play in the transformation of the conquered territories, for it was primarily to them that the conversion of the natives to Christianity was entrusted and to the encomenderos of the land. Some of them, such as the Friar Vicente de Valverde, and in flagrant disregard of their vows of poverty, received encomiendas which were eventually inherited by their relatives. However, only the priest Juan de Sosa is recorded to have been given a share of the Cajamarca treasure.

From the earliest days of the Conquest the religion the Spanish missionaries brought with them was regarded by the Incas simply as a form of magic and their priests as little more than magicians, comparable to their own *yatiris*, shaman, or priests of the sun. Some of the Christian rituals mystified them, such as the sacrament of communion, which, when explained to them they imagined was a form of cannibalism: a practice they had outlawed in their empire. Other sacraments they witnessed, such as confession and baptism were in effect similar to their own rites and practices, called *upacuna*. The Dominican Valverde, whose religious Order had inspired the Inquisition, and who would become Cuzco's first bishop, personified the Church's role, not only as evangelist but as exorcist. A fear of demons was shared by many of the conquistadores who compared the Inca religion and its human blood sacrifices to the witchcraft still practised in their homeland.

Though the conquistadores demonstrated their Catholic faith in their various observances and Masses, which were held publicly in front of the

Inca lords, their personal devotion was probably less evident. Most had been brought up in the semi-feudal poverty of Spain's villages, where the dominion of the clergy was paramount, and had been traumatised by the Inquisition's moral crusade from which only the New World could offer a semblance of escape, and the opportunity for sexual freedom they valued as much as the very gold they so relentlessly sought to acquire.

Valverde, who was in his early thirties, was probably the only Spaniard in Cuzco at the time to have had a university education, having studied theology at Valladolid and at Salamanca; he presented the bizarre spectacle of a theologian in an encampment of men most of whom had no greater ambition than to fornicate, get drunk and acquire gold, and who had possibly shed more blood than any other men at so young an age. Pizarro was well aware of the importance the Crown attached to the evangelical role of his conquest and deferred to Valverde on a number of occasions, rewarding him with the palace of Suntur Huasi for his first church. The Temple of Coricancha was for a time left in the possession of Manco, and afterwards requisitioned by Pizarro's brother Juan. It was eventually left in his will to Valverde's Dominican Order which built their monastery church on its foundations.

Although Pizarro allowed Manco to retain an unidentified building for himself and his small court, he denied him any of the city's palaces and lands, as Mansio Serra de Leguizamón recalled years later: 'All the land, houses, cattle [llamas] of this city and valley, was divided and given to those who conquered this city and kingdom ... and it is known to me that the Inca Manco was neither given nor awarded any lands of encomiendas of Indians so that he could maintain himself in accordance with his rank and lordship, for had anything been given him it would have been known to me.'²⁸

Many of the city's caciques from the subject tribes no longer recognised Manco's claim to sovereignty, regarding the Spaniards as their liberators from bondage. Among them was Cariapasa, lord of the Lupaca nation from the north-westerly shores of Lake Titicaca, and possibly one of the greatest of all the caciques who had led his people in Huayna Cápac's conquest of his northern empire. 'When Don Francisco Pizarro entered Cuzco there came to the city the principal lord of the province of Chucuito called Cari [Cariapasa] an elderly Indian who was governor of that province, and he

arrived at the village of Muina where his tribesmen were in bondage, and said to them: “My brothers, we are no longer living in the time of the Inca, for each and every one of you can go home to your lands”.’²⁹

Pizarro knew he would need a united army of Indian auxiliaries under one single native command to confront the remnants of Atahualpa’s forces. And for this reason alone – as in the case of the unfortunate Túpac Huallpa – he had recognised Manco as emperor and authorised his coronation at Cuzco, which in effect would see the gathering of all the subject caciques from various parts of the empire, including the southern Collasuyo. The investiture of Manco with the *mascapaicha*, the traditional headdress and forehead tassel of an Inca sovereign, took place in the city’s great square. Pedro Pizarro records the macabre spectacle of the various mummies of the imperial panacas that were also assembled to witness the ceremony, carried in their throne chairs, and how they were fed and given chicha to drink, and that some of them through the speech of their mediums spoke to one another, offering each other drink and food. After receiving the homage of his Inca lords and the caciques, he himself knelt before Pizarro and once more swore him fealty.

Dressed in the splendour of the imperial panacas, their faces masked in beaten gold, his sister-wives and brothers accompanied him in their litters to make their final sacrifice to the sun outside the city’s walls. It was a ritual that a year later would be seen for the last time by the priest Cristóbal de Molina, and which would symbolise the last vestiges of Cuzco’s former grandeur:

In a plain on the outskirts of Cuzco where the sun rises, they would take all the mummies of the temple and of their rulers under richly adorned canopies, and would make of this encampment a pathway ... along which would parade all the lords of Cuzco, who were *orejones* [Inca lords] and [were] richly dressed with shawls and shirts embroidered in gold or silver, wearing bracelets and patens in their head-wear of very fine gold that shone with a brilliance, comprising of two rows of persons, each of three hundred lords; in procession and in silence they awaited the sunrise and even before its appearance they began to chant in great unity, their voices rising in tone with the rising of the sun ...

The Inca was seated on a mound near by, in a tent and on a throne of great splendour, and as the chanting increased he rose with much

authority and walked towards the centre of the two rows of lords, and he himself began to chant, a chant that was imitated by all the lords ... and by mid-day their voices had increased in strength, as had the sun, all during which time many sacrifices were made of llamas and of meat which was burnt. At eight of the afternoon more than two hundred young women came from Cuzco, each carrying a pitcher of chicha they offered to the sun, and also a plant they chew in their mouths which is called coca ... and when the sun set they demonstrated great sorrow and in the darkness adored its passing with great humility ... and each returned to the city as did the mummies of their past rulers, each one attended by their *mamacona* and servants who would fan them with plumes of birds' feathers.³⁰

These images of a people at the height of their civilisation would all but disappear within ten years of their conquest, the treasures of their gold and silver metalwork melted into ingots, the stone masonry of their once splendid palaces used to buttress the foundations of the mansions and churches of their conquerors.

FIVE

The Siege of the Holy City

These are not the sons of God, but the sons of the Devil.

The Emperor Manco

For nights on end, recalled Pedro Pizarro, the sound of drums and drunken feasting could be heard in celebration of the young emperor's coronation, a sound which put the fear of God into many of the conquistadores because of the vast numbers of Indians that had entered the city. By the week's close the Emperor Manco had gathered some eleven thousand warriors on the outskirts of the city with their caciques. Seated in a throne chair carried on the shoulders of his Inca lords, he followed the columns of Spaniards in battle order towards the northern cordillera. 'The marqués sent Hernando de Soto in pursuit of Quisquis, and the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro went with him to relieve Jauja, where the marqués had left some of the Spaniards in guard of the gold and silver of His Majesty, and which had been gathered after Hernando Pizarro had left for Spain, and we Spaniards experienced great risk to our lives and hardship.'¹

The winter rains had destroyed several of the rope bridges across the Andean canyons and rivers which the Spaniards and their Indian allies would have had to cross, and those that had remained had been cut down by Quisquis's retreating army on their march north. Pizarro, who was informed of Almagro and Soto's difficulties, and fearing for the safety of Manco, ordered the emperor to return to the city, leaving his warriors with the squadron of horsemen. The Indian auxiliaries were put to work to reconstruct the bridge at Vilcas, on whose other bank they could see a solitary horseman who turned out to be Gabriel de Rojas, who had made his way from the northern coast via Jauja, having earlier sailed from Panama at Pizarro's instigation. Rojas brought with him news of Jauja's successful defence against Quisquis, describing to Almagro and Soto how the treasurer Alonso de Riquelme had stacked the Cajamarca booty in its main square,

guarded by his foot soldiers and camp women, and how his eighty men and Indian allies had fought off the hordes of warriors.

Rojas also brought news that would cast a shadow on the entire expedition, and which he related to Pizarro several days later. Having been commissioned by Pizarro to bring two supply ships from Panama, his vessels had however been captured by an armada from Guatemala which consisted of some six hundred Spaniards and slaves, led by Don Pedro de Alvarado whose intention was to establish a foothold on the northern Ecuadorian coast. (Álvaro de Paz, who watched the armada leave Guatemala, stated that it consisted of 11 ships and more than 600 Spaniards.) Alvarado, a veteran of the conquest of Mexico and friend of Cortés, and who had been made a Knight of Santiago by the Emperor Charles V for his conquest of Guatemala, had two years previously secured in Spain a tentative sanction for his armada on condition he would not interfere in Pizarro's governorship.² More than any other veteran of the Indies, the 49-year-old adventurer personified the brutality of the Conquest: during his governorship of Guatemala he thought nothing of entertaining his guests by hunting his Indian slaves on horseback, accompanied by his pack of mastiffs.

Pizarro was well aware that Alvarado was no ordinary freebooter but a member of one of the great noble families of Extremadura, with connections to the court and the Council of the Indies, the body established to govern the Spanish colonies. Neither were the men he had brought with him in his armada an inexperienced force of simple volunteers, but the hardened and impoverished veterans of the conquests of both Mexico and Central America, many of whom saw the gold of the Incas as their last hope of enriching themselves.

Outnumbered and poorly armed, Pizarro knew that his small and dispersed army of some two hundred Spaniards was no match for the invaders, who posed an even greater threat to his survival than any of Atahualpa's remaining armies. Nevertheless, he decided to remain at Cuzco with the Emperor Manco, knowing full well that any immediate evacuation of the city would only result in weakening the morale of both his men and of his Indian allies. He therefore sent messengers to Riquelme to fortify Jauja, and to Sebastián de Belalcázar to reinforce as best he could the northern settlement of San Miguel. Belalcázar not only had to contend with

the impending invasion of Alvarado's armada, which had not as yet landed, but faced an even greater threat from Atahualpa's warrior chief Rumiñavi, who was defending the northern Inca capital of Quito.

It took Soto and Almagro almost a month to complete the task of securing the central Andes, though they failed to capture Quisquis. Meanwhile, Pizarro, accompanied by the emperor, had made his way to Jauja, leaving forty encomenderos to guard Cuzco. Manco celebrated the temporary rout of Quisquis's squadrons by organising a royal hunt in honour of Pizarro. The chronicler Bernabé Cobo recorded that 10,000 Indians acted as beaters and a total of 11,000 animals were speared and killed by the Spanish horsemen, who at first had been wary of the invitation, imagining that they themselves might become the victims of the chase.

It was shortly afterwards that Pizarro was informed of Belalcázar's march on Quito with a large number of volunteers who had landed at San Miguel, and whom Pizarro's agents had for some time been recruiting in the Isthmus as future colonists. Also by then aware that Alvarado's armada had disembarked on the northern coast, Pizarro ordered Almagro to reinforce Belalcázar and take sole command of his forces. Agustín de Zárate wrote:

Just at this time a great number of men arrived from Panama and from Nicaragua; and Belalcázar took two hundred of them with him, including eighty horsemen, and advanced on Quito with the intention of protecting the Cañaris Indians, who had made a treaty with him, and because he had heard that Atahualpa had left a great amount of gold at Quito. When Rumiñavi learnt that Belalcázar was approaching he advanced towards him with some 12,000 warriors, also securing various passes, where he laid ambushes, but which Belalcázar because of his cunning avoided. It was his habit to send fifty or sixty horse to ride through the night above and below the mountain ridges and seize the passes before daybreak. In this manner he drove the Indians back on to the plains, where his cavalry could inflict great losses on them.

When the Indians prepared for his attack they dug deep and wide pits set with sharp poles and stakes, which they covered with turf or grass or thin bamboo, which were like those dug by the people of Alexia for the defence of their city, as Caesar described in his seventh *Commentary*. Regardless of their endeavours, the Indians could not deceive Belalcázar,

who evaded such traps, and never made a frontal attack on the Indians but only from their flank or rear. He took great care never to ride over grass or turf that appeared unnatural ... [In Quito] Rumiñavi said to his wives: 'Now you can rejoice because the Christians are coming, and you can have some sport with them.' They all laughed, thinking that what he said was a joke, but their laughter cost them dearly, for he ordered them to be beheaded ... Belalcázar then took possession of the city.³

The chronicler Fernández de Oviedo, who had known Belalcázar as a young man in Nicaragua, recorded that 50,000 warriors had faced the 200 or so Spaniards, who had been supported by only 3,000 Cañari auxiliaries. Also marching from the Ecuadorian coast towards Quito was Almagro and his small retinue of troops, but by the time he reached the northern Inca capital Belalcázar had already entered its gates in triumph. Among the Indians who came to greet Almagro were Atahualpa's two young sons and daughter, whom he had entrusted to Pizarro's care on the day of his execution at Cajamarca. It was a request with which to his great discredit Pizarro had never complied, and it was left to Almagro to bring the children to Cuzco. For a long time – as their testimonial to the Crown demonstrates – their fate was one of ignominy and poverty until they were looked after many years later by the elderly conquistadore and chronicler Diego de Trujillo, one of the poorest of Cuzco's encomenderos, who, as noted earlier, gave them a home in his modest house.⁴

The third contingent moving towards the foothills of the northern cordillera was Pedro de Alvarado's army of invasion, whose brutality, recorded by the Italian Franciscan Marcos, a native of Nice, was unequalled by any other conquistadore army in the level and extent of its torture, pillage and rape of the natives whose lands they passed through, and in their relentless search for gold. Line after line of Alvarado's horse and foot soldiers and packs of mastiff dogs – some of the larger hounds protected by specially fashioned coats of armour – made their way up into the craggy passes of the cordillera. The harsh and biting winds and snow, at first a novelty to men who had known only the tropical heat of Guatemala, soon brought derision and despair; some died where they stood, others froze in their saddles, their horses still carrying their corpses. Ignoring their near starvation, one chronicler recorded that in answer to their plight some cried out in defiance that gold was their only food. 'One Spaniard, who was

accompanied by his wife and two small daughters, seeing them sit down too tired to march on and being himself too exhausted to carry or help them, stayed with them until all four were frozen to death.'⁵

It was a march that cost the lives of almost a fifth of Alvarado's army and a great number of his slaves and porters, until finally, less than a hundred miles from Quito, he learnt that the city was already in the hands of Belalcázar and Almagro.

Within weeks the two rival Spanish armies were to face each other and prepare for battle. Heralds were sent to parley and after a while Alvarado, whose army was still almost twice the size of Almagro and Belalcázar's combined force, agreed to meet Pizarro's emissaries. The three mounted figures made a curious spectacle as they each rode out from their respective armies, clad in full body armour: the stocky and elderly figure of Almagro, recognisable by the patch covering his blinded eye; the black-bearded Belalcázar, the skull of a puma prominently displayed on his helmet; and the fair-haired and opulently cloaked Alvarado with his courtly manners, each one of whom was prepared to die that day.

It was gold that had brought each of them to Peru and it was gold that would smooth their differences, irrespective of the fact that Almagro had brought with him a copy of the Crown's edict, issued in Spain a year previously, prohibiting Alvarado from entering the colony. Of the gold taken from Cajamarca and Cuzco 100,000 pesos was sworn to Alvarado in exchange for his ships and the disbanding of his army. Within less than an hour the future of Spain's colony of New Castile had been decided.

The treaty, signed on 26 August 1534, guaranteed not only Pizarro's governorship of the whole of the former Inca empire, but led to the destruction of what remained of Quisquis's forces by the combined Spanish contingent, following the capture of Rumiñavi and his execution in Quito's main square. The great warrior chief Quisquis fled to the eastern Amazonian forests, bringing to an end the last threat posed by Atahualpa's armies to Spanish rule. Belalcázar's role in the northern conquest of Quito was rewarded by Pizarro, who subsequently gave him permission to establish a semi-independent settlement at Popayán on the northern border of the Inca empire, which today forms part of the Republic of Colombia. Alvarado's disbanded troops were, however, denied any share in the gold he had been promised by Almagro. Though they were allowed to remain in the

colony, their resentment soon manifested itself in looting and scavenging as they followed Almagro's army to Jauja and then to Cuzco, from where many of them would later form part of his expedition in the conquest of Chile.

Pizarro met Alvarado at Pachacamac, near the temple his brother Hernando had plundered almost a year and a half previously, and where he paid him the 100,000 gold pesos. This sum the conqueror of Guatemala took with him to Spain and later used to help finance a proposed expedition to China across the Pacific, but the expedition faltered and witnessed his death in a riding accident in Mexico seven years after leaving Peru.

Pizarro's descent from the cordillera into the fertile plain of Pachacamac, situated not far from the sea, had, however, convinced him of the need to found the future capital of his colony in the region. He knew that like Cuzco, Jauja was far too isolated from the coast and communication with the Isthmus. A small outpost had already been established near Pachacamac for several months under Nicolás de Ribera, who took Pizarro on a reconnaissance of its northern coast and the lands of the cacique Taulichusco at Lima. There, on the Feast of the Epiphany Pizarro founded his capital of Los Reyes, the City of the Kings.

Before creating his new coastal settlement Pizarro had celebrated at Jauja the birth of his daughter Doña Francisca, whose mother was the young Inca Princess Quispe Sisa. At her baptism in the town's wooden chapel, some of the Spanish camp-women, among them the Morisca slave Beatriz de Salcedo, acted as her godmothers. A witness records that the celebrations were accompanied by cane fights on horseback and that the Indians of the city also held their traditional feasting in honour of the child, who carried the blood line of their emperors and of their new Spanish lord. Among the thousands of Indians who had gathered in the city were the warriors of Quispe Sisa's mother Contarhuacho, once concubine of the Emperor Huayna Cápac, and who was one of the few women caciques of the subject tribes. Quispe Sisa was also baptised and given the name of Inés, the name of her Spanish godmother Inés de Muñoz, the wife of her uncle Pedro Martín de Alcántara.

It was an elaborate ceremony conducted at night and over which the old slaver presided, imitating the solemnity and gestures he had himself witnessed in his youth in the churches of his native Trujillo. In the darkness

amid the incense that rose above the heads of the small congregation, and surrounded by his captains, he may well have demonstrated the emotion he seldom showed and which only at Atahualpa's death is he recorded to have expressed with his tears. His pride in his daughter and in the colony he had established against all odds, would, however, be shattered by the news that reached him from Cuzco in the coming months.

Towards the end of July 1534 – almost a month before Diego de Almagro had reached his agreement with Pedro de Alvarado – Pizarro had appointed Hernando de Soto governor of Cuzco. It had been an attempt by Pizarro to strengthen his hand among the city's encomenderos who had openly flouted his orders to desist from extracting gold from the city's native lords. Shortly after Pizarro had left Cuzco, which he had put under the command of Beltrán de Castro, Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and several other encomenderos captured the Villaoma, who had been in hiding in the neighbouring Cuntisuyo province, and whom they ransomed for gold. In his testimonial to the Crown some thirty years later Serra de Leguizamón records the event:

I was one of the forty soldiers chosen to remain in the city of Cuzco in its defence in the company of the Captain Beltrán de Castro, which was when the governors had gone to meet with Don Pedro de Alvarado who had come from Guatemala with his men. While on guard of this city it was learned the Incas planned to kill us all and recapture Cuzco, bringing with them as their chief Villaoma. In order to forestall their purpose, I and a number of my companions disguised ourselves as Indians, and taking with us our arms we went on foot to where Villaoma was encamped with a great number of his warriors. And taking heart I was the first to seize him and we brought him as our prisoner to Cuzco and handed him over to the Captain Beltrán de Castro.⁶

One of the witnesses to his testimonial, Diego Camacho, recalled that Serra de Leguizamón had set out to the Villaoma's camp in the Cuntisuyo with nine or ten other soldiers, among them his friend the encomendero Francisco de Villafuerte. Another witness, Luis Sánchez, records that the value of the treasure received as a ransom was 34,000 gold pesos and 36,000 silver marks. Pizarro, who was then at Jauja with the Inca emperor, was incensed by the news and ordered the Villaoma's immediate release.

Fearing for their lives, as a placatory gesture Cuzco's encomenderos sent the treasure to Jauja in a donation which all forty signed, dated 4 August 1534, of 30,000 pesos of gold and 300,000 marks of silver.⁷

There is no official record of what became of the treasure. It is more than likely that it formed part of the 100,000 gold pesos Pizarro paid Pedro de Alvarado for the disbanding of his forces. Though Serra de Leguizamón was reprimanded by Pizarro, several years later his capture of the Villaoma was recorded in the coat of arms the Emperor Charles V awarded him, and which portrays the Inca High Priest wearing his ceremonial crown within a border of chains.

At the founding of Cuzco's municipality Pizarro had originally appointed among its officials both of his brothers Juan and Gonzalo, together with a number of experienced Isthmian veterans such as Gabriel de Rojas and the infantry captain Pedro del Barco. The city, nevertheless, had remained in a state of near anarchy because of the clandestine looting and vandalism of its encomenderos, among them Pizarro's brothers who were a law unto themselves. Even Pedro de Candía, whom Pizarro had appointed the city's first mayor, had been unable to maintain order.

Pizarro's solution to Cuzco's problems was to relieve Beltrán de Castro and Pedro de Candía from any effective role in governing the city and to appoint Soto as its governor. It was a decision which elicited a great deal of dissent from Pizarro's two younger brothers, who had both for a time served with Soto's squadron in his hunt for Quisquis, and whose dislike for him was well known.

Pizarro had also resolved to allow the Emperor Manco to return to Cuzco, having instructed Soto to act as his advisor in securing the allegiance of the subject tribes of the Collasuyo, the southern region of the empire. The small court Manco was permitted to maintain in one of the city's palaces was to resemble more a refuge for his many relatives than the grandeur of an imperial household. There the continual demands from Cuzco's encomenderos for more gold and silver were endured by the hapless emperor, and at times met from his own treasury, if only as a means of protecting himself and his family.

Though without doubt the foremost fighter of Indians among all Pizarro's men, Soto was no administrator and his short-lived governorship of Cuzco proved an error of judgement on Pizarro's part. Few, if any, of the city's

encomenderos respected his authority, principally because of the influence exerted on them by Pizarro's two brothers who were determined to undermine Soto at every turn. Others who had served with Soto in his cavalry squadron were themselves loath to support him publicly so as not to offend the younger Pizarros, in the hands of whose family the wealth and power of Peru now lay. Some encomenderos were summoned before the city's cabildo and fined for their looting, but none was punished with any great severity. And it is possibly the case that Soto himself eventually took a full share in the looting and harassment of the Inca lords, as the considerable wealth he is recorded to have taken with him to Spain would later reveal.

Manco's harem, comprising many of his half-sisters, was the envy of every encomendero in the city. Apart from gold no single commodity was valued more highly by the conquistadores than the native women, especially the daughters of the Inca lords and of the caciques of their encomiendas, whom they bartered and sold among themselves. From the earliest days at Cajamarca, Pizarro had forbidden any of his men on pain of death to abduct any of Atahualpa's harem, realising the reverence in which his sister-wives and concubines were held. It was a sanction to which Soto had also adhered in Cuzco, knowing that if anything were to incense Manco to rebellion it would be the rape of his women. Other than Pizarro, Soto alone is recorded as having been permitted at Cajamarca to take one of the princesses for his mistress, and she accompanied him from Jauja to Cuzco. Forbidden fruit, yet in time they would fall into the clutches of the young Pizarros and their henchmen, intent on proving their virility and machismo, acts of dishonour which fuelled the rebellion of the Incas and almost cost Pizarro his colony.

Among the emperor's numerous half-brothers in the city was Paullu Inca, who was a few months younger than Manco and the son of their father's concubine Añas Collque, a cacique's daughter from the Huaylas region. The fact that Paullu's mother was not of the Inca royal blood made him less of a threat to Manco than his other half-brothers, who, though illegitimate like himself, were sons of Inca princesses. What, however, had impressed Soto was the following Paullu was said to maintain among the Collasuyo tribes, regardless of his low standing among his other relatives. Imprisoned by the Emperor Huáscar for raping one of their sisters, he had been set free by Quisquis on his capture of Cuzco and had probably been party to the

murder of Huáscar's immediate family so as to ingratiate himself with Atahualpa. He had been born at Tiahuanacu during his father's tour of the Collasuyo, and it was there that he had sought refuge during Quisquis's occupation of Cuzco, and where he married a priestess of the Temple of Copacabana at Lake Titicaca, a site that years later would be converted into a Christian sanctuary in honour of the Virgin.

That Manco was no longer indispensable to the Spaniards was brought home to him soon after his return to the city. The more secure its encomenderos became with the emergence of their private armies of caciques, the less control he was able to exert on his subject people. Other than among his Inca lords and Quéchua tribesmen, his standing as emperor was gradually being eroded. Even the Villaoma was urging him to break his links with the invaders and leave the city. Frightened and lacking confidence, he knew no other course than to acquiesce to the demands of his Spanish allies.

By the beginning of 1535 news had reached the city of Almagro's imminent arrival from Pachacamac, where he had ratified his agreement with Alvarado, paying him the final instalment of gold and silver bars from the Cajamarca and Cuzco treasure. Accompanying Almagro was an army of some five hundred men, most of whom had formed part of Alvarado's now disbanded forces. The prospect of so large an army unnerved not only the city's encomenderos and settlers, who numbered fewer than a hundred men, but Manco and his lords, who viewed the establishment of so many Spaniards in Cuzco as a sign that they were to be dispossessed of even their remaining dwellings. Nor was Soto much pleased when he learnt that Pizarro had replaced him as governor, appointing Almagro in his stead.

It was, however, the additional news that the Crown had awarded Almagro the governorship of the southern territories of the Collasuyo, to be known as New Toledo, and that Almagro claimed Cuzco as part of his territory that brought a shudder to many of Pizarro's veterans, who felt they could no longer count on the awards of their encomiendas being honoured. Almagro's nomination had been secured at court by his friends, and though the Royal Decree had yet to reach him, its contents had been publicised in Toledo and signed by the emperor in May 1534.

Pizarro, who was at his new settlement at Lima when the news reached him, had been visibly indignant at what he regarded as an encroachment on

his governorship, with the added humiliation of having to forfeit the Inca capital. 'I would rather die,' he is recorded as saying, 'than surrender and abandon what I have conquered and won by my own endeavour.'⁸ It was a sentiment echoed by every one of the veterans of his small army, men who had secured Atahualpa's capture; the affront to their achievements raised the spectre of civil war once more, resurrecting the confrontation between the two elderly slavers.

Pizarro had despatched a messenger to Cuzco with all urgency in an attempt to forestall Almagro's appointment until a confirmation had been obtained from Spain, which would be brought to the colony by Hernando Pizarro, who had himself been at Toledo, negotiating his family's interests. Nothing, however, was to dissuade Almagro of what he believed to be his rightful share of the spoils of the Inca conquest. Not only had he supplied Pizarro with a reinforcement army at Cajamarca, which in the opinion of many of its veterans had prevented their massacre, but with Belalcázar he had destroyed the last Inca resistance in the northern Andes. His successful bribery of Alvarado had further secured the safety of the colony. Neither was he ever able to forgive his treatment by Pizarro in robbing him of their dual governorship, nor the years they had both spent exploring the northern Pacific coast of South America in search of the Inca kingdom, and for which his blinded eye was a constant reminder of what he had sacrificed in their cause.

At the head of his army of cavalry and foot soldiers and several thousand Indian warriors, Almagro entered Cuzco and claimed it as the capital of his governorship of New Toledo. Like some conquering hero, he led his army into Cuzco's great central square where their victorious shouts of 'Almagro!' and 'New Toledo!' resonated across its buildings. It was in every way a demonstration of his superiority over Pizarro's outnumbered veterans, who looked on in silence, fearful of the vendettas that would inevitably ensue from the drunken brawling of so many impoverished and battle-hardened soldiers, some of them disfigured by their horrendous experiences during their crossing of the northern Andes.

Hernando de Soto had no choice but to accept Almagro as governor, though maintaining himself in the office of the city's chief alderman. Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, however, refused to recognise Almagro's authority, regardless of the fact that his appointment had been made by their brother

before he had learnt of the Crown's decision regarding Almagro's governorship. The two brothers led a campaign of civil disobedience, abusing Almagro and his captains at every opportunity until they finally locked themselves in Pizarro's palace of Casana. As the city's alderman, in charge of law and order, Soto was forced to intervene. But his words fell on deaf ears. Juan Pizarro, suspecting Soto was in league with Almagro, threatened to kill him. An eyewitness recorded how the two men eventually faced one another in a duel, armed, armoured and on horseback in the city's main square, surrounded by the partisans of each opposing side; and that had it not been for a relative of Alvarado, who had joined Almagro's army and who placed himself between the two horsemen, they would have fought to the death.

News that Cuzco was in a state of virtual civil war with the followers of Almagro fortifying the northern part of the city near his palace of Colcampata while the veterans of Cajamarca had commandeered the central square, soon reached Pizarro at Trujillo, the new settlement he was founding north of Lima. With the determination and physical endurance for which he was renowned, Pizarro immediately set off on the gruelling journey through the central cordillera of the Andes to Cuzco, a journey he completed in under a week on horseback or carried by Indian porters when his horses were too exhausted to continue. He was in no mood to accept excuses from anyone when he finally reached the city, and was well aware that the public squabbling among the Spaniards could easily have encouraged a native rebellion.

Pizarro discovered that Almagro had taken the young Inca emperor under his wing and gifted him the palace of Colcampata which Almagro had been given by Pizarro in the distribution of the city's buildings; and that at Manco's request Almagro had authorised the killing of some of the emperor's brothers whom he suspected of plotting against him, for which Almagro had received a large quantity of gold. Pizarro's task was not enviable. He had to restore not only his hold on the Inca emperor, but separate the two warring factions of conquistadores. His main objective, however, was to avoid a direct confrontation with Almagro and to free the city of his marauding army, described by one conquistadore as little more than a pack of thieves and brigands. To this end, he informed Almagro that it was not his desire to question his right to the city's governorship once the authority of the Crown had been invested in him, clarifying his jurisdiction

and stipulating whether Cuzco lay within its boundaries. Meanwhile, he suggested that Almagro lead an expedition of conquest into the heartland of his future governorship of the Collasuyo, and its southern coastal lands of Chile.

Flattered by the support Pizarro offered him in gold and munitions from Cuzco's armoury and treasury, Almagro once more succumbed to the persuasive words of his former partner. He ignored the advice of many of Alvarado's veterans who had urged him to uphold his claim on Cuzco by force of arms and to redistribute its encomiendas: something he realised would only lead to further dissension. The prospect of sharing in the booty and future encomienda awards of the Collasuyo and unexplored Chilean lands, reputedly far richer than any other region of the Inca empire, was sufficient to persuade Alvarado's veterans to leave the city. A few, however, such as the Extremaduran hidalgo Garcilaso de la Vega, father of the mestizo historian, decided to remain and throw in their lot with the Pizarros. According to Pedro Pizarro half of Cuzco had been burnt by Almagro's soldiers in their scavenging and looting.

The events at Cuzco would mark the end of Hernando de Soto's career in Peru. Pizarro had no wish to offer him a governorship, let alone reinstate him as Cuzco's governor. Almagro, who had known Soto since the time of their arrival in the New World in Arias Dávila's armada, refused him permission to join his expedition to Chile, even after Soto had offered to pay him 200,000 pesos of gold for a share in its command. The sum he offered Almagro is indicative of the vast amount of unaccounted for wealth Soto and other conquistadores had acquired aside from their recorded awards at Cajamarca and Cuzco. At Cajamarca Soto had received 17,740 pesos of gold. Disillusioned by what he saw as the collapse of his last chance of establishing his own independent fiefdom, and by his increasingly acrimonious relationship with Pizarro's brothers, Soto decided to leave Cuzco and return to Spain. Escorted by a caravan of llamas carrying his vast fortune, he began a journey that would eventually take him to Seville and Valladolid, where he was fêted and honoured by the empress and awarded the knighthood of Santiago.

The most dashing and famous of all Pizarro's captains, Soto's deeds in the conquest became the legends of Spain. Shortly after his return to his home in southern Extremadura he embarked on his conquest of Florida and of the territories which would become the southern United States, where he

died six years later on the banks of the Mississippi River. One of the great pioneers of the New World his name is still remembered in the townships of the Deep South, through which he had led his band of 600 men, only half of whom survived. A man capable of compassion, as he demonstrated in his treatment of Atahualpa, he was nevertheless as brutal as any of his fellow conquistadores in his methods of warfare and in his North American venture was responsible for the massacre of several thousand men, women and children, as one of his Portuguese volunteers recorded.

Pizarro had never trusted Soto, and though he was relieved to see his departure from Cuzco, he trusted even less the behaviour of his two hot-headed brothers who had almost brought him to civil war. The public dressing-down he gave his brothers instilled a certain confidence in Almagro, who had never forgotten the abuse he had received from Hernando Pizarro on so many occasions. But to see Pizarro's two brothers commanded to show him the respect due his rank as an adelantado and marshal of the Crown greatly pleased him, even if it was more theatrical than sincere. Unbeknown to him, Pizarro had decided to name his brother Juan temporary governor of the city. It was the manner in which Pizarro dealt with affairs: never letting anyone know his mind, let alone his intent.

Pizarro's attitude to the Emperor Manco was severe. He greatly resented the manner in which the emperor had supported Almagro against his brothers in his dispute. He expressed his displeasure soon after his arrival in the city when he called a council of the principal Inca lords and caciques, during which he struck Manco's half-brother Paullu in the face for daring to question his authority by allowing another of their brothers to criticise the emperor. It was enough to show Manco the limits of his sovereignty.

Towards the end of June 1535, the first of Almagro's contingent under the command of Juan de Saavedra left the city on the southern Inca road to the Bolivian highlands of the Collasuyo and the conquest of Chile. It had been a route taken shortly after the fall of Cuzco by two of Pizarro's conquistadores, Diego de Agüero and Pedro Martín, who had been the first Spaniards to behold the vast lake of Titicaca. On 3 July Almagro followed Saavedra with fifty horse and infantry to the lake, where he was met by his advance party, his army by now numbering in all some five hundred and seventy Spaniards, made up mostly of Alvarado's landless men. The Inca emperor, who had remained at Cuzco, had agreed to supply Almagro with

12,000 warriors and porters under the command of his brother Paullu and the Villaoma.

Taking the southern route from Lake Titicaca, Almagro's army set out on what would become one of the bloodiest and cruellest conquests of the New World. In a letter to the Emperor Charles V, the Friar Vicente de Valverde records that the Villaoma 'was treated very badly, for they wished to take him chained at the neck, as they had chained Paullu'.⁹ Among the expedition's missionaries was the chronicler Cristóbal de Molina, known as 'the Chilean'. More than those of any other, his words describe the singular inhumanity of his countrymen in a march that would witness the death of most of the expedition's Indian auxiliaries in the crossing of the southern snow-bound cordillera.

The Spaniards took with them from the region of Cuzco for the conquest a great number of llamas, clothing and Indians; those who had not wished to accompany them willingly, in chains and tied to ropes, and each night they would be put in harsh imprisonment, and in the day they would work as porters and almost die of hunger ... and in each of the villages they took more Indians whom they placed in chains ... and also the women who were of fine appearance they took for their service, and if they injured themselves they would make them carry them in hammocks and litters ... and in such manner also they imposed their authority on their Indian retainers and on their Negroes, who were great pillagers and robbers, and those of whom were the greater were esteemed ... I have written these things I witnessed with my eyes, of those, who because of my sins, I did accompany, so that they who read this will understand of what I speak, and of the cruel manner in which was made this journey and discovery of Chile.¹⁰

With the departure of Almagro's expedition Pizarro's appointment of his 26-year-old brother Juan as governor of Cuzco was announced to the city's encomenderos. It was the worst decision he had ever made, demonstrating the psychological dependence he had on his new-found family: a weakness which brought him time and again to the brink of ruin, and which would eventually lead to his death five years later.

When Pizarro returned to his settlement at Lima some two hundred Spaniards were left at Cuzco, among them most of its founding

encomenderos. The relations between Juan Pizarro and the emperor had never been good due to the former's unceasing demands for more gold and silver, which Manco was forced to give him. An even greater abuse occurred when Gonzalo Pizarro seized Manco's sister-wife Cura Ocllo, and raped her. The emperor had at first tried to deceive Gonzalo by making one of his other sisters impersonate his wife. Manco's illegitimate son Tito Cusi Yupanqui also claimed that Gonzalo, the most coarse and thuggish of all the brothers, threatened to cut off the Villaoma's testicles for objecting to his demands. Though the Inca prince also asserted that Hernando Pizarro had taken part in the rape, when in fact he was not even in Cuzco at the time, his testimony regarding Gonzalo probably comes nearest to the truth of what took place.¹¹

My father, seeing that with so much impunity they demanded the Coya, and that it was impossible for him to desist, ordered that one of his Indian women [concubines], the most beautiful to be found, and who had been combed and dressed to impersonate his wife, be brought to the Spaniards. But even though they had never seen the Coya before they refused to believe it was her. And they continued to demand the Coya and would have no other business with my father. And so as to dissuade them he ordered some twenty other women brought to them, some more beautiful than others, but none of them pleased the Spaniards. And with no other recourse my father ordered that one of his principal women [sisters] of his harem be brought out, and who was a companion of his wife, and who looked just like her and dressed like her, and who was called Ynguïl, which means flower; and the Spaniards were greatly impressed by her beauty and regal appearance, and with much jubilation and cheering they shouted: 'Yes, this is the Coya, not the other ones!' Gonzalo Pizarro, who desired her more than anyone, and who let this be known, said to my father: 'Lord Manco Inca, if she be for me give her to me now! I can't hold myself any more!' And my father who had her well trained said: 'Do what you will with her.' And he [Gonzalo] in front of everyone went up to her and kissed her and embraced her as if she were his wife, which made my father laugh greatly. And Ynguïl, frightened and terrified by being embraced by a stranger, began to scream like a mad woman, shouting that she did not want to be with such people.¹²

Within days, however, Manco was forced to surrender his wife to Gonzalo, who installed her as his mistress in Pizarro's palace of Casana which the brothers used for their lodging. The young emperor finally decided to accept the advice of his lords, most of whom had suffered similar abuse of their women and daughters, and flee the city. Whether Manco had thought of rebelling against the Spaniards before his wife's abduction is uncertain, but once it had taken place even he realised that such an affront in the eyes of his people could never be tolerated if he wished to retain their allegiance. Though the Villaoma may or may not have been in Cuzco at the time of Cura Ocllo's rape as Tito Cusi Yupanqui alleges, there are a sufficient number of witnesses who state that he soon after returned to the Inca capital having made his escape in the Bolivian hinterland from Almagro's army before they crossed the Andes to Chile. It was at this juncture in the Collasuyo and Cuntisuyo that the High Priest initiated the first plans for an uprising, to be carried out with or without Manco's support.

As he attempted to flee to the Collasuyo, the emperor was captured by a squadron of horse near the city, and his re-entry into Cuzco, barefoot and tied by the neck with a rope attached to the tail of Gonzalo Pizarro's horse, created such resentment among the natives that it made a rebellion inevitable. Manco's imprisonment in Cuzco is possibly one of the darkest periods of the Spanish conquest. An Indian witness recorded:

Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro maltreated him and those lords of his who were in his company, placing him in irons and imprisoning him; where his guards urinated and spat in his face, stealing his clothes and belongings, and calling him a dog, and threatening to burn him alive if he did not reveal to them where he hid his gold ... and his treatment was so cruel that many times he cried out that if they did not strangle him he would strangle himself.¹³

In a letter to the Emperor Charles V the Biscayan Pedro de Oñate and Juan Gómez de Malaver, who some four years later met Manco in the valley of Ollantaytambo, recorded:

The Inca received us well and listened to our words and made the following reply: 'How is it that the great Apu [lord] of Castile ordered that I and my women be imprisoned with iron rings to our necks, and that I be urinated and excreted in my face? And that Gonzalo Pizarro, brother

of the principal lord, would take my wife, whom he still holds with him? And that Diego Maldonado would torture me so as to demand from me gold, telling me he was also a great lord?’ He also protested that Pedro del Barco and Gómez de Mazuelas, who are encomenderos of this city, and Alonso de Toro and Pantiel de Salinas, Alonso de Mesa, Pedro Pizarro and Solares, also encomenderos of this city, urinated on him when he was being held captive, and that with a lighted candle they burnt his eyebrows.¹⁴

Most of the encomenderos who acted as his guards took part in the emperor’s torture, including Pizarro’s kinsman Pedro Pizarro, who in his chronicle perhaps unsurprisingly makes no mention of his involvement. Some of them were also responsible for the rape of Manco’s sisters whom they took for their concubines, and who would be the mothers of their mestizo children, which explains why some of the younger and least senior of the conquistadores, who were neither captains nor officials of the city, were related to the Inca royal family. Fernández de Oviedo wrote that Hernando Pizarro, his two brothers Juan and Gonzalo and their intimate companions ‘left no one single woman or sister of his [Manco’s] unviolated’.¹⁵

One of the princesses, who would later be known as Doña Lucía Clara, was the mother of Diego Maldonado’s sons, whom Maldonado pretended in his testimonial to the Crown that he had been awarded by Pizarro at Cajamarca.¹⁶ Another was the Princess Isabel Yupanqui, the concubine of Lucas Martínez Vegazo.¹⁷

For weeks on end Manco suffered the abuse of his captors, chained in the main square of the city, a sight that outraged his people and led to the killing of two encomenderos in their lands. The immediate retribution of the Spaniards was recorded by Diego Camacho, whose brother had been one of the victims: ‘Because of the killings by the Indians in the province of Cuntisuyo of an encomendero by the name of Pedro Martín [the same Pedro Martín who first sighted Lake Titicaca] and another encomendero called Simón Suárez, I saw the captain Juan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro, and Mansio Serra de Leguizamón among them, leave the city with other soldiers to exert reprisal of the province; and being as I was in the city of Cuzco I heard it said the reprisal had been carried out at the capture of the

mountain fortress of Aconcagua, where more than eight thousand Indian warriors had taken refuge, and that a great deal of fighting took place.’¹⁸

Pedro de Cieza de León wrote that four conquistadores, Juan Flores, Francisco de Villafuerte, Pedro del Barco and Mansio Serra de Leguizamón volunteered to gain entry to the fortress by shaving their beards and disguising themselves as Indians, and that they made their ascent of the mountain crag at two in the morning, accompanied by an Inca lord:

The Spaniards were fearful, believing they had been betrayed, and cursed the *orejón* [Inca lord] who appeared to have closed the gate behind him, but throwing back his robe he took out his battleaxe and shouted: ‘Viracochas [Spaniards] come quickly!’ which they did, though some Indians had injured the *orejón*: many now came shouting they had been betrayed and wounding the *orejón*, whom they killed and who begged the Spaniards to avenge his death. The four men with their swords in hand fought alone against the entire encampment of Indians, their lives being saved solely by the darkness of the night. Juan Pizarro with the rest of his men then came to their aid, and as dawn was breaking the Indians could see their great number that had gained entry into their fortress, nor could their enemies lightly ignore the clamour of shouting of their men, women and children, and those who could see the steel of their swords many decided to take their own lives, throwing themselves over the cliffs on to the crags and rocks below, where the blood of their brains coloured the snow ... without restraint the Spaniards wounded and killed, cutting arms and legs, letting none survive: the yanaconas did the same, and the greater their clamour the greater the killing ... and those who were not killed, with their women and children, whose eyes they shielded, threw themselves over the cliffs to their deaths.¹⁹

When Juan Pizarro and his squadron returned to Cuzco he found the city under the control of his elder brother Hernando, whom Pizarro had appointed governor. After an absence of three years he had returned to Peru laden with honours from the court at Toledo where he had been made a Knight of Santiago for his services. He had brought back with him four white women slaves for his brother the governor, and had also obtained permission to import 100 African slaves on his behalf – proving that Pizarro’s slaving days were still not completely over.²⁰ Aware of the ill-

feeling Manco's imprisonment and the killings at Aconcagua had created among the natives of the city, he ordered the emperor's partial release.

The emperor's maltreatment, however, continued unabated, as the Indian witness Alonso Puscon stated: 'Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro treated him very badly, slapping him and hitting him, and Hernando Pizarro once more chained him in a cell, demanding that he order the collection of gold and silver from his people, and that it be taken to the palace of Casana, and Manco gave a great deal of gold and silver.'²¹ As a reward for his compliance Hernando Pizarro granted Manco permission to leave Cuzco to officiate at a ceremony in the neighbouring valley of the Yucay, accompanied by the Villaoma. It was a gesture influenced in part by Manco's promise to bring him a further quantity of gold and a life-size gold statue of his father Huayna Cápac which was hidden in the valley.

The emperor's departure from the city signalled the beginning of the Inca rebellion. In a clearly well-orchestrated manoeuvre, the Incas laid siege to the city, a siege which would not be lifted for almost fourteen months. The suddenness and organisation of the siege indicate that it had been planned for some time, bringing together as it did from the various regions of the empire warriors and provisions; both Spanish and Inca witnesses set the number of warriors at a staggering 200,000, though possibly the true figure was nearer 100,000. The rebellion, however, was betrayed to the Spaniards.²²

Hernando Pizarro sent Juan Pizarro his brother with seventy horsemen to the Yucay valley to attack the gathering of Indians there, and once we reached the valley, we found some ten thousand warriors who believed we would be unable to reach them because of its river; but Juan Pizarro waded into the river with his horse, and we all followed, our horses swimming across, and we attacked and defeated the warriors, who then retreated to a neighbouring hill. And being there three or four days, we received word from Hernando Pizarro to return to the city which was being besieged ... and when we reached the city we saw that all its surrounding hills were filled with Indians, and which half a league away resembled some gigantic black cloth, and which at night, because of the fires they lit, looked as if the hills were filled with stars; and such were their cries and shouting we looked on in amazement. There were assembled there, as even the Indians themselves recall, some 200,000

warriors the Inca had gathered for his siege. Then one morning they descended on the city, setting Cuzco alight, and with these fires they gained control of much of its streets, building barricades so that we Spaniards could not make our escape.²³

Serra de Leguizamón recorded that it was not until the eve of Easter Sunday that word finally reached the city of the mass uprising:

and those who remained in its defence, I among them, barricaded ourselves in one of its fortresses which in the Indian language is called Hatuncancha; and Manco Inca sent a great number of Indians against the City of the Kings [Lima] where the Marqués Pizarro was at the time, and against other settlements of Spaniards ... from as far as Chile to Popayán and Pastu, a distance of some seven hundred leagues ... and there were many in this city who attempted to flee to the ports of Lima and Arequipa to escape by sea, but who were detained by Hernando Pizarro and Juan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro, the Marqués Pizarro's brothers, who defended this city, and who I accompanied in that defence ... and it was known that the marqués had sent word from these realms to Guatemala and to Tierra Firme, asking them for their help.²⁴

In the first few days of the siege the garrison, numbering no more than two hundred Spaniards and several hundred Indian auxiliaries, together with all the women and children, retreated to the two fortress palaces of Suntur Huasi and Hatuncancha to the north-east of the main square, where they barricaded themselves in and from where, day and night, they led sorties of cavalry and infantry against the onslaught of warriors. In the initial days of the fighting, thirty Spaniards were wounded or killed. Within a week Manco's squadrons of Quéchua and subject tribes, which had marched undetected to Cuzco from all the regions of the empire, had taken control of most of the city. In the fortress of Hatuncancha, amid the cries of the wounded and the stench of unburied corpses, three friars heard the confessions of the men as they prepared for their deaths. In the stockades of the fortress the Spaniards had stabled those that had survived of their horses and mules, some eighty animals. Pedro del Barco, who commanded the infantry, recalls that he raised two large tents on either side of the square, where he billeted his men for some time, but that they were soon overrun by

the Indians, forcing him and his soldiers to fight ‘hand to hand with their swords and daggers’.²⁵

During one of the many forays the horsemen made into the square and that had prevented the Incas setting fire to the thatched roof of the fortress tower of Suntur Huasi, some of the besieged men and women, prompted by fear and invoking the intercession of God for their deliverance, claimed to have seen an apparition of the Virgin – an event commemorated years later by the construction on its site of Cuzco’s church of the Triunfo. Another miraculous apparition, known as the Miracle of Santiago, which the beleaguered garrison claimed had been seen at the height of the siege, and which would also later be represented in the religious iconography of the colony, was the apparition of Santiago, Spain’s patron saint, an event chronicled by the Friar Martín de Murúa:

I wish to refer to what I have heard told by Spaniards and Indians, who swear to the truth of what they say, and who recall that in the most difficult time of the fighting a Spaniard appeared mounted on a white horse and killing many Indians, and many of the Spaniards believed him to have been Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, one of the leading conquistadores of Cuzco; yet later, when they inquired about this they discovered that he had not been fighting there, but in another part of the city, even though there was no other among the Spaniards who possessed a white horse other than he. It was understood by many that it had been the Apostle Santiago, patron and defender of Spain, who had appeared there.²⁶

The Emperor Manco had established his principal encampment overlooking the city on a hill known to the Quéchua as the Speckled Hawk, in the massive stone fortress temple of Sacsahuaman, from where with impunity he commanded the daily assault. The fortress, comprising three great stone defensive towers ringed by a wall whose foundation stones were some 12 feet in height, guarded Cuzco’s northern approach. Pedro Pizarro compares one of the warriors defending the highest tower of the fortress to a lion armed with a shield, battleaxe and Spanish sword, and wearing a captured steel helmet. Diego Camacho, one of the seventy soldiers attempting to scale the fortress walls, recalled that ‘for some days we had the fortress besieged and one night Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and a few

others volunteered to gain entry through a small opening they had seen, and thus they entered, and all the others after them, and we captured the surrounding area to the fortress at great peril and much fighting, and that night Juan Pizarro was killed. Hernando Pizarro, who had remained in the city, then came up and we held to the siege until the fortress was captured: scaling its walls with ladders.’²⁷ Lucas Martínez Vegazo recorded that twelve conquistadores climbed up into the fortress ‘killing and wounding the natives and shouting “Spain! Spain!”’²⁸ It was said that the slaughter had been so intense that for days hundreds of condors could be seen swooping down on the fortress’s bloody walls to eat the flesh of its dead warriors.

The capture of Sacsahuaman would form part of the folklore and legends of the Indies, symbolised by the coat of arms awarded Cuzco by the Cardinal of Seville: ‘A castle of gold in a field of red, in recognition that the said city and its fortress were conquered by force of arms in the royal service; and for a border eight condors in a field of gold, which are large birds like vultures of the province of Peru, in recognition that at the time the city was won they flew down to eat the flesh of the dead.’²⁹

The fall of the great fortress, whose giant stone foundations can still be seen above Cuzco, marked a turning point in the siege of the city. Their victory had gained Hernando Pizarro’s weary and half-starved soldiers a period of respite, though it had been marred by the death from his wounds of his brother Juan a few days after the siege. On his deathbed Juan bequeathed his right to the Temple of Coricancha to the Dominican Order in return for their prayers for his soul.

In the days that followed several sorties were ordered into the surrounding countryside to forage for food and llamas, before Hernando Pizarro himself led a squadron of horse into the northern valley of Ollantaytambo. Lying beyond what is known as the Sacred Valley of the Incas, Ollantaytambo and its river of Urubamba are dominated by the surrounding mountains. In the farthest reaches of that valley lie the ruins of its giant stone-terraced fortress and there Manco had positioned the bulk of his army. The small squadron of horse finally entered the valley and slowly made their way up towards the fortress, the massive walls of which were manned by archers from the Amazon subject tribes. Diego Camacho recalled the failure of the expedition:

This witness and seventy horsemen went to the said province and fortress, which we attacked on the day of our arrival. The Indian warriors, having ventured out of the fortress, a great battle took place till that night, in which many Spaniards were killed and wounded; and abandoning our encampment and tents we were forced to flee to Cuzco that very night, losing everything we had taken with us; for had we remained till morning not one of us would have returned alive because of the great numbers of warriors and the ruggedness of the land.³⁰

Their retreat from the valley was the precursor to a further siege of the city, and though its garrison by now had accumulated sufficient supplies of food to last for some time, it would be several months before one of the two armies marching to its relief would reach the vicinity of Cuzco.

SIX

The Death of Almagro

Diego de Almagro died at the age of seventy-three: a man of small stature and ugly, marked even more so after the loss of his eye, of a cheerful disposition and courageous.

Antonio de Herrera, Historia General

When news first reached Pizarro at Lima of the siege of Cuzco and of the events that had precipitated it, he was filled with anger and dismay at the behaviour of his brothers, conscious that his settlers could well be massacred in revenge. Four relief columns of cavalry were sent by him to Cuzco, including a squadron of Indian auxiliaries under the command of one of Manco's half-brothers. But each failed to penetrate the roads and bridges the Inca emperor had fortified leading to Cuzco, bringing only further reports of the plight of Hernando Pizarro and his men, who faced hunger and disease, and a lengthy siege.

Despatching messengers to the Isthmus and even to Spain, the conqueror of Peru awaited the inevitable siege of his own settlement, his vision of a Spanish empire in the Andes crumbling by the day. Only his Cañari and Huanca auxiliaries had gathered on the outskirts of Lima in defence of his capital, together with several thousand Huaylas warriors of the cacique Contarhuaco, the mother of his young Inca mistress, whose intervention would eventually save the city. Nothing, however, could subdue the panic or quieten the rumours that gripped the colony, nor prevent the daily exodus of those able to flee in the few available ships to the safety of the Isthmus, regardless of Pizarro's threat to execute deserters. But Pizarro was not a man to be intimidated for long. He had known fear almost all his life, and it was the same fear he had experienced on the island of Gallo and at the first sight he had had of Atahualpa's encampment at Cajamarca, when all he had striven for appeared to be lost.

Sending a ship to Almagro in Chile and outriders to the small army commanded by the conquistadore Alonso de Alvarado in the northern Chachapoya province, and to Sebastián de Belalcázar at his settlement of Popayán in Colombia, Pizarro believed that given time he would be able to consolidate his forces and relieve Cuzco. The possibility of his achieving this, however, seemed far from certain. He no longer faced a bewildered native populace, suspicious of the magical attributes of the Spanish horsemen and of their weapons. Now the forces that confronted him comprised a determined nucleus of caciques and Inca lords bent on revenge for the abuse of their women and the maltreatment they had themselves suffered at the hands of men they had once believed to be gods, and whom they now considered little more than thieves and rapists.

Some fifteen hundred Spaniards were at this point isolated in the settlements across a vast and contrasting landscape, from Cuzco to as far north as the equator, and at the mercy of almost a quarter of a million warriors.

[M]any fled from Lima to Mexico and to Panama, taking their wives and possessions with them, and though they tried to persuade the marqués to do likewise, he would not consider such an action, preferring to die in His Majesty's service than escape ... [H]e then sent three ships he owned with the captains Juan Fernández, Juan de Barrio and Diego de Ayala to seek help, arms and horses from Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Mexico, sending with his captains a great amount of gold for this purpose, and promising to reward those who responded to his call. At that time the marqués also sent his brother Francisco Martín de Alcántara to gather together the settlers on the northern coast. Furthermore, he commanded Juan de Páñes to collect from Panama a large quantity of money he had in that town, also for the defence of these realms ...

Many captains answered his call to arms, among them the captains Garcilaso de la Vega [father of the historian], Diego de Rojas and Gómez de Tordoya and Pedro de Lema, who was the eldest brother of the Governor of Santo Domingo, Francisco de Cháves, who brought many men with him, together with Pedro de los Ríos, brother of the Governor of Nicaragua, who came in his large galleon, with horses and arms ...

And to relieve the siege of Cuzco the marqués sent the captain Diego de Pizarro with 150 men who were killed by the Indians in the ravine at

Parcos. By another road he sent Gonzalo de Tapia, his brother-in-law, with 80 horse, all of whom were also killed ... and ignorant of their fate he sent a further column of 30 men under the captain Galte who were later besieged at Jauja, and who, according to Carabantes de Mazuelas, who managed to make his escape from the town, suffered a similar fate as its settlers, who were all killed.¹

Hernando Pizarro claimed that his brother expended 300,000 gold pesos of his own money in defence of his colony.

For months on end Pizarro awaited the attack on Lima, ignorant of the fate of his brothers in Cuzco. Each of his relief expeditions had been beaten back by an army of Manco's warriors under the command of his warrior chief Tey Yupanqui. According to the Friar Vicente de Valverde in a letter he wrote to the Emperor Charles V, Tey Yupanqui had sworn to 'enter the city [Lima] and kill every single Spaniard and take their women and make them their wives, and breed a strong race of warriors, and that if he were to die in the assault each one of his chiefs would also die fighting'.² Again, it was to the Spanish horsemen who faced the thousands of warriors on Lima's plain that Lima owed its survival, once more proving that it was primarily Spanish horsemanship – something the Indians were never able to master on their captured horses – that was responsible for the success of Spain's conquest. After the fighting Tey Yupanqui and forty of his warrior chiefs lay dead.

With the arrival of Alonso de Alvarado from the Chachapoya, Pizarro had been able not only to fortify Lima but to send another relief force to Jauja and Cuzco under Alvarado, of '100 horsemen, 150 foot soldiers, among them 40 crossbowmen'.³ Due to his inability to communicate with his brothers, for almost a year Pizarro did not know whether they were alive or dead, or that his younger brother Juan had been killed in the assault on Cuzco's fortress. Also unknown to him were the appalling losses suffered by Manco's warriors in their defence of the Sacsahuaman, a fate which was to influence many of his caciques to abandon the city's siege. Lack of sufficient maize and potatoes – the staple diet of the warriors – to feed their men, and fear for the safety of their distant homelands after so long a period of absence, had forced the caciques of the subject tribes to once more break their allegiance to their Inca overlords and defy their emperor, leading to a

mass desertion. Unable to secure their obedience, Manco had been left no option but to retreat to the safety of the neighbouring Yucay valley, taking with him only several thousand warriors, mainly of his Quéchuá tribe.

In the event, it was the exhausted army of Diego de Almagro, that had found neither gold nor riches on its ill-fated expedition to Chile, which was the first to reach Cuzco, having marched across its desolate northern desert. Having left Cuzco with some five hundred men and several thousand Indian porters, many of whom, according to the Friar Valverde, they chained, at times making them carry the newly born foals of their mares in hammocks, Almagro's once proud army were now no more than a dishevelled and half-starved array of men.⁴

The historian Agustín de Zárate, who knew many of the survivors of the expedition, recorded that

Don Diego de Almagro and his men underwent great hardships on their expedition to Chile, both from hunger and thirst, and in their battles with the Indians. Parts of the country were inhabited by men of very large stature who were fine bowmen and dressed in sealskins. But the Spaniards suffered worst from the extreme cold, both from cold winds and afterwards when they crossed the snow-bound cordillera. Here Ruy Díaz, who was following after Don Diego, lost several men and horses from frostbite. No clothes or armour were enough to keep out the icy wind that pierced and froze them. And the ground was so frozen that when Don Diego returned to Cuzco five months later he found in various places men who had died on the way to Chile, frozen hard on the rocks, together with the horses they were leading, and their bodies were as fresh and free from corruption as if they had only just died.

The carcasses of these horses would provide the main food of Don Diego's army on their return. In all these wild places where there was no snow there was a great shortage of water, which the Spaniards carried in llama bladder skins, each llama carrying the skins of dead llamas on its back filled with water. One of the characteristics of these llamas is that they can carry a load of fifty or sixty pounds, like camels, which they much resemble in build though they have no hump. The Spaniards have since used them as horses, for they can carry a man four or five leagues in a day. When they are tired and lie on the ground, they will not get up even if beaten or pulled; the only thing to do is to take off their load. If

they grow tired when ridden and the rider urges them on, they will turn their heads and spit at him with very foul-smelling saliva.

These animals are of great use and profit, for they have very fine wool, especially those they call alpaca, which have long fleeces. They require little food and can go for three or four days without drinking. Their flesh is as clean and as succulent as the fattest mutton of Castile ... in one part of Chile there are many ostriches on the plains, and these were hunted in this manner: several horsemen would take up positions at various points and would chase the birds from one to another. No horse could keep up with them otherwise, for they ran very fast, taking great strides though they never leave the ground.

There are many rivers on this coast that flow by day but are quite dry at night. This greatly surprises those who do not understand the reason: that by day the snow on the mountains is melted by the heat of the sun, and so the water runs, whereas at night it is frozen by the cold and so the flow ceases. Five hundred leagues down the coast, that is to say 30 degrees south of the Equator, there is rain and all the winds blow as in Spain. The whole of Chile is well populated and roughly divided into two parts, the plain and the mountain ... the general line of the coast is from north to south from Lima southward through forty degrees. It is a very temperate country, and has both summer and winter, though at the opposite times to those of Spain. There is no star corresponding to our North Star; there is only a small white cloud which revolves in a day and a night around the place where the pole should lie, and which astronomers call the Antarctic pole ...

There is a great province between two rivers entirely populated by women, who will only allow men to come near them at the times most suitable for conception; and if they bear sons they send them to their fathers, if daughters they bring them up themselves ... their queen is called Gavoimilla, which means in their language 'golden sky'.⁵

The historian Garcilaso de la Vega, who had also known veterans of the Chilean conquest, recorded the role played by Manco's half-brother Paullu Inca in aiding Almagro's retreat:

Almagro informed him of his decision to return to Peru, and asked him his opinion about the route they should take; for he feared that they might

face another danger as before, when scorning and ignoring the prince's warning he and his entire army came near to perishing if God's mercy had not saved him ... [W]hen Paullu had consulted his Indians about the roads, he informed Almagro of a coastal route, and how it had been closed since the wars between Huáscar and Atahualpa, and how the water springs and wells were filled with wind-blown sand since they had not been used for so long a time, and that they contained very little water, and what there was was too filthy to drink. He would, however, send his Indians ahead and remove the foul water, and according to their reports of the quantity of water they might find, the army could be sent forward in groups, and the groups increased in proportion to the amount of water available ... as the water pools were six or seven leagues apart, skins were made to carry water between them so that the men might not suffer from too much thirst ... Paullu then gave orders for the flaying of llamas needed for the water-skins, and while this was being done word was sent to the Spaniards to begin their advance.

Almagro, however, was reluctant to place his entire confidence in the Indians in a matter of such importance as the safety of his entire army, and he ordered some Spaniards to accompany the Indians so as to confirm their reports on the road and water springs. He ordered four horsemen to report to him on what they saw on each day's march ...⁶

The news of Almagro's successful crossing of the Atacama desert – a distance of over 200 miles – with some five hundred men and what remained of his Indian auxiliaries, and their arrival at Arequipa, had been relayed to the Inca emperor at Ollantaytambo. On reaching the township of Urcos, 25 miles south-east of Cuzco, Almagro sent a messenger to Hernando Pizarro informing him of his intention to take possession of the city as part of his governorship of New Toledo, the patents of which he had only received during his expedition to Chile. He also despatched two of his captains, Pedro de Oñate and Juan Gómez de Malaver, to the valley of the Yucay in an attempt to negotiate a peace settlement with the emperor.

Manco by then was a forlorn figure, accompanied by the Villaoma, his women and an escort of several thousand warriors. Almagro, who had always maintained a good relationship with him, was well aware that his depleted army posed little threat to his own forces, or even now to Cuzco. Nevertheless, he realised the political advantage of securing his alliance in

what was once more emerging as an inevitable confrontation with Pizarro and his brothers. He further instructed his two captains to gather as much evidence as they could from Manco concerning his maltreatment at the hands of the Pizarros, which he would later relay to the Crown. One account records Manco's parting words to Almagro's captains:

‘Ask my father Almagro if it is true what he says and that you are not lying, that I will be allowed to leave in peace and enter the city together, he with his men, and I with mine; and that he will leave me to kill all those Christians who have harmed me: then shall I know whether what he says is the truth.’ And while we were still with him an Indian brought from Cuzco a letter Hernando Pizarro had sent him, which he showed us, telling him that he should not go in peace with Almagro because he was planning to burn him alive and make his brother Paullu, whom he had brought with him from his discovery of Chile, emperor; he then told us that the letter had been read to him by a Christian who was his captive.⁷

Manco nevertheless refused Almagro's offer of a treaty. The sight of the Chilean expeditionary army encamped at Urcos had finally brought to an end any hope he may have held of defeating the Spaniards, even though the conquistadores had suffered the loss of over seven hundred men throughout their various settlements. For a further two years Manco's depleted squadrons would continue to wage their struggle till they were finally defeated by superior arms and cavalry. With his escort of warriors and a few Spanish and Indian prisoners – among them Paullu's mother – he retreated from the Yucay to face his exile in the mountain fastness of the forests of Vilcabamba.⁸

There, he built a fortified township, which would be known as the ‘Lost City of the Incas’, and whose ruins possibly lie buried at Espíritu Pampa, not far from the great mountain temple of Machu Picchu, which itself would remain unknown to the world until its chance discovery by the young American archaeologist Hiram Bingham in 1911. Astonishingly, no single Spanish chronicler or contemporary Inca witness made any reference to the existence of this temple city, nor was its identification made any easier by the fact that the city's original name remains unknown. It was given the name Machu Picchu, meaning old mountain, by Bingham's companions.

In all probability Machu Picchu was built a hundred years before the Conquest, in the reign of the Emperor Huayna Cápac's father Pachacuti, and remained in the possession of his panaca after his death.⁹ Contemporary colonial records show that the land in the vicinity of the city was known to the conquistadores, as an encomienda here was granted by Pizarro to his brother Hernando. A later encomienda award made by Pizarro to Paullu Inca records a village in the vicinity also confusingly called 'Vilcabamba', which had previously belonged to Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.¹⁰

It seems improbable that Manco, who during Cuzco's occupation by Atahualpa's generals had hidden in the region, could have been unaware of Machu Picchu's existence. Nor does it seem credible that so sacred a temple site would have remained unknown to his sons and successors. It is more than likely that it was still being used as a temple and place of worship in the early years of the Conquest, and that its treasure was secretly removed either by the Incas themselves or by any one of the conquistadores who held encomiendas in the region; their Indians would have undoubtedly informed them of its existence, in order to win favour. Certainly, Hernando Pizarro, the principal encomendero of the province, would have had no qualms about looting the city and then taking the secret to his grave, thus evading the Crown's tax on treasures.¹¹

In the bitter cold of the Andean winter Almagro's troops entered Cuzco under cover of darkness. The Friar Valverde set down in some detail the events of that night:

At midnight when Almagro's soldiers raised the alarm – pretending that the bridges of the city were being destroyed, and ignoring the treaties they had agreed upon – with all speed they made their entry into the city through each of its four bridges and into its main square, shouting 'Almagro! Almagro! Death to the traitors!' And from there they took possession of the streets and Orgóñez, the Adelantado's commander, with a great number of his soldiers broke into the palace [Casana] of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro to the cries of 'Almagro! Almagro!' Hernando Pizarro was taken by surprise and still in his bed, confident that the agreements he had reached with Almagro would be honoured; and rising and arming himself quickly, together with his brother Gonzalo, who armed himself with a lance, and who with some others also slept in

the palace – some 100 men – were left with only 15 men in their defence. Gonzalo positioned himself at one of the chamber's doors and Hernando at another, where they could try to defend themselves; conscious of the clamour being made by Almagro's men in their sacking of the surrounding buildings. In each of the dwellings of the *encomenderos* Orgóñez and his men looted. And however much they attacked the doors that were being guarded by Hernando and Gonzalo, they could make no progress, even though it was their wish to kill both of them and so end the conflict, but so ardent was the fighting of the two that none could break through. And Orgóñez was forced to send a message to Almagro who was in the main square, informing him that there was no other means to evict the two men other than by setting fire to the palace. And this Almagro agreed, even though the building was already on fire by the time the messenger delivered his reply.

As the fire had taken hold, Hernando could clearly be seen throwing furnishings from the chamber, for it was his custom to always be at the fore of any fighting; most of the city had been captured and its *encomenderos* disarmed, those who remained had sheltered in the patio of the palace, and so large was it that it resembled a church, having been built by the Incas. Along one of its walls were two arches without doors, and it was there the two brothers defended themselves, and where its timbers began to fall on top of them ... and seeing that nothing could be gained amid the dense smoke and heat they came out into the patio where they were set upon and disarmed shortly before the entire roof caved in.¹²

On the morning after his entry into Cuzco and in the company of his Isthmian mestizo son Diego and his principal captains Almagro proclaimed himself governor of New Toledo, the southern territories of the Inca empire.

Fearful for their lives, the city's garrison had all surrendered to his troops. The few men who had refused were put in irons, their Indian women left to the mercy of his soldiers, who had little to show for their arduous march other than their hatred for the Pizarros. Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, together with several of their supporters, were at first imprisoned in the house of Diego Núñez de Mercado, and then in what had been the Temple of Coricancha.

The imperial city was by then a charred ruin, as the Friar Valverde recalled: 'most is tumbled down and burned ... and few stones of its

fortress standing. It is a wonder when one finds any house in the environs with more than walls.'¹³ The retribution of Almagro's soldiers was relentless as was their search for the hidden caches of gold and silver of their prisoners, and the rape of their women. Valverde also records that Hernando was very badly treated and constantly kept in heavy chains, and that Almagro refused to visit him in the small circular turret in which he was eventually incarcerated. There, confined in one of the corners of his brother's palace of Casana, and overlooking the main square, his massive, forlorn and virtually naked figure could be seen by one and all.¹⁴

Within days of his seizure of the city Almagro ordered his men to resume their march to confront the approaching army of Alonso de Alvarado, which Pizarro had sent from Lima to relieve Manco's siege, ignorant of the return of Almagro or of the fate of his two brothers. As Alvarado rested his troops by a river at Abancay, north of the city, Almagro's horsemen attacked them. Led by Almagro's commander Rodrigo de Orgóñez, a cobbler's son and a veteran of the Spanish Imperial army that had sacked Rome, Almagro's forces routed Alvarado's contingent of 500 men. The humiliation Alvarado and his men were forced to endure on their march to Cuzco, chained in columns, and many of them barefoot, was a sight that instilled even greater alarm in the imprisoned supporters of the Pizarros. Most by now believed they would be killed or spend the rest of their days rotting away in the fortress of Sacsahuaman, the site of their former victory. For almost twelve months they remained prisoners, though a few, among them Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro, eventually made their escape after bribing their guards.

The repercussions of Almagro's secession were felt throughout the settlements of Peru. Each side gathered its fair share of partisans to present their cause before the Council of the Indies in Spain, where Almagro, because of his son's prospective marriage to the daughter of one of its members, which had cost him 100,000 gold pesos, wielded a powerful influence. Many of Pizarro's enemies and detractors, including those from far afield such as the chronicler Fernández de Oviedo, governor of the citadel of Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola, were only too willing to subscribe to Almagro's cause. The dispute inevitably prompted the Crown to send to Peru various officials with powers to mediate between the

two former partners. One such official was the Provincial of the Order La Merced in the Indies, the Friar Francisco de Bobadilla.

The news of the Inca emperor's ill-treatment at the hands of Pizarro's brothers, and which had been the primary cause of his rebellion, had by then also filtered back to the Spanish court in the various reports sent to it by the elderly Bishop Berlanga of Tierra Firme. It was one of numerous charges being made before the Crown, in which the Pizarros were presented as virtually a law unto themselves, enriching their purses at the expense of the Royal Treasury. It was a view also previously aired at Toledo by Hernando de Soto on his return to Spain.

For almost a year the two opposing camps of the colony remained at arm's-length, at times threatening war, at others exchanging emissaries who did little to bring about any agreement. One of the principal contentions was the treatment of Hernando Pizarro, whom Almagro took with him in chains when-ever he left Cuzco, and which was a constant reminder to Pizarro of the limits of his authority. Nor was Pizarro unaware that Almagro had taken the initiative in his dealings with the Inca lords of Cuzco by crowning Paullu their emperor, and awarding him for his loyalty his palace of Colcampata on the northern approach to the city.

It was, however, shortly after Almagro had founded a new settlement on the coast at Chincha, south of Lima, that the two elderly slavers met for the last time, at the small village of Mala. The chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León based his account on the testimony of Francisco de Godoy, who was present at the meeting. He writes that Almagro, going ahead on horseback, dismounted and took off his plumed hat to embrace Pizarro, who responded curtly by touching his helmet in acknowledgement. 'By what reason and authority,' asked Pizarro, 'have you taken possession of Cuzco, which I won after so much hardship? And what gave you the right to take my Indian woman and my yanaconas? And not content with that, to imprison my brothers?'¹⁵

Almagro's reply was terse. He told Pizarro that Cuzco was not just a shrub to be found in Trujillo earth that was his to give away if he so decided, and that the truth of its capture was far different, and that its lordship depended solely on the wishes of the Crown. But his words had no impact on Pizarro, who was only too aware that his brother Gonzalo was hidden nearby across the hill with 700 armed men awaiting his signal. But it

was an order he never gave. Not even when one of Almagro's lieutenants suddenly approached them, holding the reins of Almagro's horse, by then aware of the ambush. Hurriedly, Almagro mounted and without once looking back, galloped at great speed away from the village. They would never see one another again.

Whether it was Pizarro's sense of honour that prevented him breaking his truce, or whether their escape was due to the foresight of Almagro's lieutenant will never be known.

The negotiations between them lasted several months and led to the freeing of Hernando Pizarro – an act opposed by all of Almagro's captains, and especially by Orgóñez, who demanded his execution, warning his master of the consequences of allowing him to return to Lima. It was a situation rendered even more volatile when the news reached Cuzco of the Friar Bobadilla's intervention on the side of Pizarro, referring Almagro's claim to the Council of the Indies. By then war was inevitable.

At dawn on 26 April 1538, within sight of Cuzco's walls at a plain called Salinas, the two armies faced each other from opposite banks of a river. Almagro's troops, numbering 500 men, half of whom were horsemen, were commanded by Orgóñez and supported by 10,000 warriors led by the Inca Prince Paullu. Hernando Pizarro, in full armour and draped in an orange-coloured velvet cape, his helmet adorned with a white plume, commanded Pizarro's army of 700 men, and advanced his infantry across the river, his standard emblazoned with the Pizarro arms – two bears either side of a willow tree. Almagro's huge banner, bearing his arms of a black Imperial Habsburg eagle within an ermine white border, fluttered beside him on the hillock, from where ill health forced him to observe the battle. Orgóñez's pikemen made their advance, supported by two columns of cavalry which were ordered to begin the attack, at full gallop, their lances breaking with the force of their impact, and desperate and bloody hand-to-hand fighting ensued.

Then Orgóñez cried in a loud voice: 'By the Holy Book, follow me who will. I ride to my death!' On seeing that Orgóñez was exposing his flank, Hernando Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado charged the enemy with such force that they threw more than fifty to the ground. And when Orgóñez rode up they wounded him with an harquebus shot in the forehead which passed through his vizor. But though wounded he killed two men with his

lance and dealt one of Hernando Pizarro's servants a sword thrust in the mouth ...

Finally the marqués's men forced Don Diego's to turn away. And when Don Diego saw his men running away, he shouted 'By Our Lord, I thought we had come to fight!' And when two horsemen had forced Orgóñez to surrender, another horseman whom he had wounded, cut off his head; and others who surrendered were killed, which Hernando Pizarro and his captains were unable to prevent. Alonso de Alvarado's men, ashamed of their defeat at Abancay, were also only too willing to take their revenge in any manner they could. They were so savage in their slaughter that when one of them was carrying the Captain Ruy Díaz tied to the cruppers of his horse, another of Alvarado's men rode up and killed him with his lance.

And when Almagro's Indians saw that the battle was decided they deserted him, and went to strip the dead Spaniards. They stripped some who were still alive also, but too badly wounded to defend themselves ... all the dead were left naked.¹⁶

One hundred and fifty Spaniards lay dead. Almagro witnessed the slaughter of his wounded men at the hands of his own Indian auxiliaries. He stayed there for only a while before mounting his mule and making his escape to Cuzco. In the ruins of the fortress of Sacsahuaman, where he had kept his prisoners, Almagro was captured and taken manacled to the Temple of Coricancha, and placed in the same cell Hernando Pizarro had once occupied.

The Jesuit chronicler Blas Valera recorded that half a century later an elderly conquistadore who had fought at Salinas witnessed the ghosts of the men who had fallen in the battle:

There is on the battlefield a church dedicated to St Lazurus, where the bodies of those who died there were buried. A noble and pious Spaniard, who had been one of the conquistadores, often went there to pray for the souls of the dead. It happened that while praying one day he heard groans and weeping in the church, and one of his friends who had fought and died in the battle appeared to him ... and at his suggestion the mestizos, the sons of those Spaniards by Indian women, moved their fathers' bones

to the city of Cuzco ... and many Masses were said ... and the apparitions then ceased.¹⁷

For three months Diego de Almagro would remain a prisoner. Sickly and broken in spirit he presented a pitiful sight, pleading his age and his past service to the Crown. His entreaties, however, failed to move Hernando Pizarro, who would neither forgive nor forget his own imprisonment and past humiliation, and who ordered his execution.

On 8 July 1538 the great square of the city was lined by a squadron of harquebusiers as a priest and the executioner headed the small column of men making their way from the Temple of Coricancha, behind them Almagro's garrotted corpse was carried to a podium. To the sound of a drum his head was struck off and fixed to the end of a lance, his one eye open, then his bearded and blood-smeared features were paraded before the silent throng of Spaniards and Indians. Wrapped in a shroud, his headless and naked corpse was taken by his African slave to be buried in the city's monastery of La Merced.

Little is known about Almagro's private life. His will shows him to have fathered his mestizo son Diego and also a daughter called Doña Isabel, whose mother was Mencia, an Andean Indian woman.¹⁸ Some believed Almagro had been a foundling, abandoned on the steps of a church in his native Castilian township in La Mancha; others boasted of a more romantic, noble lineage. Like Pizarro, however, he was a product of the Indies, an Indies *vaquiano* – son of a whore – as Hernando Pizarro had called him ('¡Dámele vaquiano y dártelo el bellaco!' 'Give me an old Indies man and I'll give you a thieving son of a whore!'); illiterate and uncouth, yet with the same capacities and dogged character of any of Ernest Hemingway's Castilian peasant mountain fighters depicted in his novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

Possibly the most revealing portrait of both men was left by Agustín de Zárate in his history *Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*, much of which was based on the recollections of the conquistadore Nicolás de Ribera, the 'old man', in whose house he stayed in Lima.

They were both bold and brave men, capable of enduring great hardships. They were very similar in their personal tastes and particularly in their domestic life. Neither of them was married, though both lived to be old

men. The marqués, who was the younger of the two, died at the age of 65. Both were soldiers, though the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro enjoyed the pursuit of commerce when his military services were not required.

Both men embarked on the conquest of Peru at a late age, and both suffered much. The marqués was however more often at risk than the Adelantado, and the dangers he underwent were much greater. He undertook the larger share of the discovery, while the Adelantado remained in Panama sending him the necessary supplies. Both were courageous, and their courage made them ambitious, though at the same time they were very down to earth and human, and on friendly and equal terms with their men.

They were also generous to their men, though the Adelantado would trumpet his generosity, whereas the marqués would get annoyed if his be known, and which he would endeavour to conceal. He once learnt by accident that one of his soldier's horses had died. And before going down to the pelota court of his house where he expected to find him, he put an ingot of gold weighing five hundred pesos under his coat, intending to hand it to him. But not finding him there he took part in a game that was just being arranged, and played without taking off his coat, so that no one should see the ingot. He was unable to bring it out for three hours, until the man arrived. Then he quietly called him into a room and said to him that he would rather have given him three such ingots than suffer the discomfort he had had to endure. The marqués never gave anything except in person and made sure that no one would know of it. For this reason the Adelantado was considered the more generous of the two. Yet by reason of their joint ownership of their expedition's wealth, neither gave anything of which the other did not supply half ...

Although the marqués governed more peacefully and for a longer time, Don Diego was the more ambitious and conscious of his command and authority. Both were very conservative, and so attached to what was old that they rarely gave up the dress fashions of their youth, especially the marqués who normally wore a high-waisted coat of black cloth that fell to his ankles, white deerskin shoes, a white hat and a sword with an old-fashioned hilt. And when, on certain Feast Days, he was persuaded by his servants to wear the sable cloak the Marqués del Valle [Hernán Cortés] had sent him from Mexico, he would take it off after returning from

Mass, and remain wearing simply his doublet with a towel round his neck so that he could wipe the sweat off his face, for in peacetime he spent much of the day playing either bowls or pelota.

Both men possessed great physical strength. The marqués demonstrated this especially in his addiction to these games in which few young men could tire him out. He was much more given to games of all kinds than the Adelantado; so much so that sometimes he would play bowls all day and did not care with whom he played. Even if it were a sailor or a miller, he would not allow him to fetch him the bowl or pay him other courtesies befitting his rank. Seldom did his affairs of government induce him to leave his game, especially when he was losing. Only if there were some new Indian disturbance, for he was very quick on such occasions, would he put on his shoulder armour and run through the city with lance and shield, making straight for where the trouble was to be found without waiting for his men, who usually caught up with him later, running at full speed.

Both showed such skill and courage in the Indian wars that neither would have hesitated to attack a hundred of the enemy unaided. They both had very good judgement and knowledge in military matters and in their respective governments, considering that not only were they uneducated but unable to read or even sign their names, which was a great disadvantage for them. The marqués so trusted his friends and servants that on all the orders he dictated, both in matters of government and in conferring encomiendas of Indians, he signed by drawing two lines, between which his secretary Antonio Pizarro wrote the name Francisco Pizarro. Both men could offer the excuse with which Ovid defended Romulus for being a bad astrologer: that he knew more about arms than letters, though he had great difficulty in conquering his neighbours.¹⁹

Pizarro's conquest of the Inca empire would never have been possible without Almagro. His participation and collaboration in their initial voyages of discovery had been a crucial factor in Pizarro's obtaining the Crown's *Capitulación* in Toledo in 1529. Few men would have reacted with the generosity of spirit he eventually demonstrated by accepting a subordinate command, regardless of their commercial partnership. The provision of men, arms and ships from as far afield as Nicaragua, and the enticement of

Panama's merchants to invest in the Peruvian conquest was virtually due to his efforts. Nor would Pizarro's small expeditionary army have survived at Cajamarca without the timely arrival of Almagro's reinforcements, which as many of the conquistadores recorded was to guarantee the outcome of the conquest.

The relationship between the two men – of some fifteen years standing, in which they had worked side by side in Panama as slavers, merging their business interests and encomienda plantations in order to finance their early expeditions of discovery – had always been dominated by Pizarro, whose introverted and forceful character at times, as at their last meeting at Mala, left Almagro lost for words. It is more than likely that Pizarro would never have accepted the sole command of the conquest had it not been made clear to him that the Crown would never consider a dual command. But the affection Almagro undoubtedly felt for Pizarro and the loyalty he showed him was never to survive the interference of their followers, for which they would both pay with their lives, nor was it ever fully reciprocated.

In his will which he dictated before his execution – 'being as I am imprisoned in this cell, manacled and chained against all reason and justice', Almagro finally sought his revenge on his old companion-in-arms by making the Emperor Charles V his heir – an act he knew would bring about the severest scrutiny of the Pizarros and so reveal their abuse of the Crown's treasury – and begging him to grant his son Diego his governorship of New Toledo.²⁰ He also set down that he possessed a million gold pesos from the partnership he had held with Pizarro. Among his bequests was a payment for a horse which the chronicler Friar Cristóbal de Molina, the Chilean, had loaned him during his conquest of Chile, and monies to endow a chapel to be erected in his name in his native township of Almagro in La Mancha of Castile. Further, he left a considerable amount of money to the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries at Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola, proof that he had spent some time there after his arrival in the Indies. He also freed a certain Margarita, an African slave who had served him during his campaign in Quito, 'for the love she has shown me'.²¹

Other details of his will leave a bizarre and varied image of his wealth and possessions: 'an old shirt and some tablecloths and napkins and a scarlet bed-cover ... a black velvet coat lined with ermine ... six women

slaves from Nicaragua ... the houses that once belonged to Hernando de Soto in the main square [the palace of Amarucancha] and his other lands ... 2,000 silver marks held by Gómez de Mazuelas ... 74 pigs ... a gold bowl, a gold salt cellar, a gold jug and a gold goblet, which are worth 2,600 pesos.'

Though Hernando Pizarro and his young brother Gonzalo attended Almagro's funeral dressed in mourning black, few believed that it marked an end to the retribution they had sought. Neither did many of Almagro's imprisoned followers accept that Pizarro, who had delayed his journey to Cuzco at Jauja, was not conscious of Hernando's decision to execute their leader without any proper trial on the simple pretext of his rebellion.

Pizarro's eventual return to the city was both theatrical and revealing: no longer was he dressed in the simple plain armour he had worn for most of his campaigns, but in a richly gilded breastplate, led by trumpeters and an escort of his veteran conquistadores, who had ridden out of the city to greet him. Neither did he make any excuses for Hernando's behaviour. An observer records that when Hernando had sent him a messenger at Jauja asking him what to do with Almagro, he had responded: 'act so that he shall give us no further trouble.'²²

Shortly before he received his brother's message, Pizarro had interviewed Almagro's 22-year-old mestizo son whom Alonso de Alvarado was taking prisoner to Lima; he had promised him that he would never consent to his father's execution.²³

There was nothing magnanimous in Pizarro's behaviour. His sole intent was to defend the colony he had founded, and not even his past friendship for a man who was possibly the only sincere friend he ever had would sway him from such a course.

SEVEN

The Frontiers of New Castile

My governorship has no frontier, it stretches even to Flanders.

Francisco Pizarro

The vastness of the colony Pizarro had founded, and the immense distances its early settlers and armies of conquistadores walked and rode across on horseback and mule, climbing through snow-bound mountain passes and traversing the bleak pampas of its southern highland country, can only be envisaged when set in the context of their endless hardship and remorseless endeavour. It was a route Pizarro had himself undertaken on various occasions, and which for the last time brought him to Cuzco, and for the first time had taken him to the lake of Titicaca and the ruined Bolivian city of Tiahuanacu, the ancient cradle of Inca civilisation.

Even before Almagro's execution, he had instructed his brother Hernando, by letter, to counter the inevitable discontent of Almagro's partisans and the hundreds of landless veterans of Salinas by ordering several expeditions of exploration, with the promise of rewarding its pioneers with lands and Indians. He had even chided Diego de Alvarado, one of Almagro's fallen captains, by telling him somewhat imperiously that his own mandate stretched as far as Flanders, and that only greed and not justice had been Almagro's cause.¹

Among several expeditions Pizarro sanctioned was one to the Cotahuasi region of the western Cuntisuyo, under the command of Nicolás de Heredia, one of the future discoverers of northern Argentina, and Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, who, together with other Pizarro loyalists, had spent almost a year imprisoned by Almagro in the dungeons of the Inca fortress of Sacsahuaman. The expedition was typical of the conquest of the colony's frontier regions, in which the conquistadores often took with them their private armies of Indian warriors from their existing encomiendas. Rodrigo López Bernal, one of the hundred Spaniards who served on the expedition,

recalled that Serra de Leguizamón captained a company of his Indian warriors from his encomienda of Callanga and Catanga, one of the richest in Cuzco, and as a result was awarded the encomienda of Alca in the Cuntisuyo's mountainous and arid region:

... much was risked, for there were few of us Spaniards in comparison to the great number of Indians who attacked us and surrounded us in very mountainous terrain, making it impossible for us to reach a river [the Cotahuasi] for the water we needed to drink; and that night in the tambo of Alca, Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and the Indians in his service left our encampment in order to break the siege, entering the tambo from the high ground of a slope, passing their sentries and putting them to the sword so that they could not warn their warriors; and in this manner in the middle of the night they climbed to the upper villages where the great multitude of warriors were camped, and catching them asleep they killed many of them, and then gave the Spaniards who had remained below the signal to climb up and follow them.²

Another such expedition had been initially led by Pizarro's old comrade-in-arms the Greek Pedro de Candía, one of the celebrated men of the island of Gallo who had accompanied him to Trujillo, and who was also one of the wealthiest encomenderos of Cuzco. Candía took with him into the northern Andes of the Antisuyo some three hundred Spaniards and several thousand Indian warriors and porters in his search for an Indian city he believed possessed great quantities of gold, but which he was never to find. It was the first recorded mention of the fabled city of El Dorado for which the Spaniards would relentlessly search over the years, in both the eastern Andes and the northern Amazon. Various legends grew up surrounding its mythical location, one of which Sebastián de Belalcázar, Pizarro's governor at Popayán, first came across in Colombia. It recounted the existence of a tribal chief who was said to cover his naked body with gold dust, which he would wash away by bathing in the waters of the lake of Guatavita as an offering to his people's gods. Candía, betrayed by his Indian informants and by his Mulatto lieutenant, who had attempted to involve him in a conspiracy against the Pizarros, was forced to abandon his expedition and return to Cuzco, where Hernando Pizarro relieved him of his command, souring for ever Candía's former allegiance to the Pizarros.

The conquistadores' obsession for acquiring gold was never to be sated. The Cuntisuyo and Antisuyo expeditions were followed by one which was led by Hernando Pizarro and his brother Gonzalo to the Collasuyo, in which Garcilaso de la Vega, the mestizo historian's father, and the Extremaduran Pedro de Valdivia, the future founder of Chile, both served. The expedition was accompanied by thousands of warriors belonging to the Inca Prince Paullu, who at Salinas had abandoned Almagro, but who had been forgiven his treachery by Hernando in exchange for his support.

On the northern shore of Lake Titicaca at Juliaca and at Puno the conquistadores had their first encounter with the warriors of the Lupaca nation, who had rebelled against both their Inca lords and their Spanish encomenderos. Further south, at the Desaguadero River on the lake's southern shore, men and horses were forced to make their crossing of its waters ferried on pontoon bridges constructed from reeds and totora rafts. This route eventually took them to the lush and fertile valley of Bolivia's future city of Cochabamba, where their forces engaged the remnants of the Emperor Manco's southern armies. In the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid there is a manuscript compiled by the grandson of the Inca prince recording his grandfather's service to the Spaniards:

He brought with him more than 15,000 Indians, and reaching the Desaguadero River it was through his efforts that Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro and other Spaniards were not drowned, and had he wished to kill his Christian friends he could well have then done so ... and he himself saved the life of Hernando Pizarro who was being taken by the current ... and later in the province of Cochabamba where many Indian warriors attacked the royal encampment in a siege of some six months he fought on horseback ... helping afterwards in the founding and settlement of the city of La Plata.³

More than at any other time during the Conquest the Spaniards in the Collasuyo were able to make full use of their cavalry in the pampas and valleys of the Bolivian Altiplano, unimpeded by the tortuous mountain trails of the Andes. The slaughter of the Indians of Cochabamba, who had been led by Manco's uncle the Inca Tiso, far exceeded the losses of any other Indian war. Not even at the fall of Sacsahuaman or at Jauja, which had been repeatedly attacked and reinforced by the Spaniards, were there so

many fatalities. As at the plain of Cajamarca, it was the Spanish horse and lancers who dominated the field, slaughtering wave after wave of warriors who launched themselves in endless numbers against their encampment; it is one of the least known engagements in Pizarro's conquest, but is described in great detail by the Friar Vicente de Valverde in his letter to the Emperor Charles V.⁴

The expedition finally turned south to the Charcas region and the future settlement at Chuquisaca, later known as La Plata, the Silver City, because of its rich silver mines, and which is the present-day Bolivian capital of Sucre. It was a campaign that would establish Chuquisaca and its neighbouring mines of Porco as a Pizarro fiefdom. Most of the expedition's captains were rewarded by Hernando in the name of Pizarro with encomiendas in the region and some, such as Pedro de Valdivia, were given mines. It would mark the founding of Bolivia as New Toledo – the name Almagro had chosen for his ill-fated governorship in memory of his native province.

The expedition had also brought about the eventual defeat of the Lupaca nation, whose elderly cacique Cariapasa was forced to abandon his lands and flee to the coastal region of Tacna, where he was to spend his days as a baptised Christian, taking the name of Juan, in bondage to its encomendero Lucas Martínez Vegazo. It was a pitiful end to the life of one of the Emperor Huayna Cápac's greatest warrior chiefs, who had fought with him in his conquest of his northern empire.

Though Gonzalo Pizarro was to remain in the southern Collasuyo for some six months in all, organising the distribution of encomiendas and securing the family's new possessions of mines and farmlands in both Cochabamba and Chuquisaca, his brother Hernando returned to Cuzco, the object of his crusade accomplished through the vast hoard of treasure in gold and silver his Indian porters brought with him. As Indian witnesses record, Hernando had left a trail of butchery and torture in the Altiplano unequalled by any other of the Spanish conquistadores, burning alive several hundred caciques alone.⁵ Unlike his brothers, he had no desire to remain in Peru, nor to live the life of a colonist encomendero. His sole purpose had been to enrich himself and to leave the colony as soon as he was able to do so, taking with him the wealth that would enable him to attain the dignity and lifestyle of a grandee in his native Trujillo.

As the only absentee Peruvian encomendero his vast landholdings and income from his silver mine at Porco would have guaranteed him the honours he so much craved in his homeland, had it not been for his involvement in Almagro's death. By then several of Almagro's followers, among them Diego de Alvarado, had managed to reach Spain and had denounced him before the Council of the Indies. In the eyes of the Spanish Crown, the killing of Almagro without proper trial had been as illegal as that of Atahualpa. Nor did Pizarro possess the legal mandate to order such an execution himself, especially as Almagro had been confirmed by the Emperor Charles V as governor of New Toledo. Hernando was well versed in the laws of Spain and fully conscious of the inquisition he would face. In hindsight one can only judge the motive for his killing of Almagro in the light of the vast wealth he had accumulated in his governorship of New Toledo.

No other veteran of Pizarro's conquest, not even Soto or Pizarro himself, acquired the fortune Hernando took back with him to Spain, and which over the years would increase yet further, supplemented by the revenues from his encomiendas and his silver mine at Porco in the Charcas, by then regarded as the richest region in the colony. Neither was he averse to other forms of commerce, becoming *in absentia* one of the wealthiest merchants in Cuzco, importing slaves and numerous goods and items from Seville and the Isthmus, which his agents sold at enormous profit. A letter of the period records that he imported into Cuzco from Panama '176 bottles of wine; 60 shirts of Holland lace; 26 pairs of velvet hose; 710 pairs of shoes and slippers; 18 spectacles; 15 pairs of leather gloves from Córdoba; 80 hats; 12 habit cloaks of the Order of Santiago; 80 hats; 6 jars of anchovies; and 386 packs of playing cards'.⁶

Hernando had been the pivotal figure of the conquest, as talented as a commander as he was odious in his manner, and whose sense of superiority even stretched to the impertinence he at times showed his elder brother, reminding him that in their family he alone was its legitimate head. As he once informed the Cabildo of Cuzco, he regarded every single one of its members as no better than peasants, which in fact most of them were, but which did little to endear them to him. As his hidalgo father's only heir, and though only possessing a small estate near his native Trujillo, his conception of himself was far removed from that of Pizarro, who in spite of all the honours and titles conferred on him would always be treated by the

nobility of their homeland with derision for his humble upbringing. It was a disdain of which Pizarro had been well aware when he returned to Trujillo in search of volunteers, and which was clearly illustrated by his inability to find any of the town's nobility or councillors – let alone Hernando – prepared to vouch for his paternity in his testimonial for his entry into the Order of Santiago.

It was a fate shared by most of the conquistadores of lowly rank once their fortunes had been dissipated. The best-known example was the conquistadore chronicler Diego de Trujillo, who spent some ten years in his native town where his attempt to gain even a minor civic honour in its Cabildo was denied him, and who eventually returned to Peru, where as a veteran of Cajamarca he was able to secure a life and respect he could never have enjoyed in his homeland. Mindful of the constraints imposed by his own peasant background, not even Gonzalo Pizarro ever seriously considered returning to Spain, and when he once made such a suggestion to his brother Hernando he was wisely advised to remain where he was.

Hernando knew, however, that he would have to face the charges levelled against him in Spain, and his decision to leave Peru was reluctantly accepted by his brother. Pedro Pizarro, who witnessed his kinsman's departure from Cuzco, recalls his final words and the warning he gave Pizarro, who had escorted him for almost a league from the city. Embracing his brother, Hernando said to him in a voice he intended to be heard by all the escort of conquistadores and encomenderos who had accompanied them:

My Lord, I take my leave of you now for Spain. The only safeguard that exists for us, other than in God, is in your person: and this I tell you, for the men of Chile are still free of any shame ... do not allow even ten of them to be gathered together within fifty leagues of your presence: for they will kill you ... and nothing will be left of your memory.⁷

Embracing his brother once more, he turned and rode away, followed by his caravan of Indian porters, pack mules and llamas, stretching far into the distance. The two brothers would never meet again.

On Hernando's departure for Spain, Pizarro himself left Cuzco for the Collasuyo and Lake Titicaca. Four months previously he had ordered the

founding of another city in the former Andean township of Huamanga, midway between Cuzco and Lima, appointing twenty encomenderos. For some seventy days he rested his entourage and escort south of Titicaca in the highland valley of Chuquiabo under the snow-capped peaks of the Inca huaca mountain of the Illimani, where Bolivia's city of Our Lady of the Peace, La Paz, would be founded nine years later. His journey to the Collasuyo would also determine his foundation in 1540 of the settlement of La Plata by the conquistadores Pedro Ansúrez de Camporredondo and Diego de Rojas, to secure both a hold on the Charcas territory and protect his family's mining and landed interests in the region.

An idea of the magnitude of Pizarro's travels can be gained possibly only from the window of an aeroplane flying from Lima to Cuzco, and from Cuzco to La Paz, and then to Arequipa, a distance of several thousand miles which he covered on horseback and mule. He was accompanied on these journeys by his scrivener and secretary Antonio Pizado, to whom he dictated the various messages and orders he continually sent to the governors of his isolated and diverse settlements, always maintaining a personal interest in almost every aspect of their administration; which for an illiterate and totally uneducated man demonstrated an extraordinary talent for organisation and administration. Turning north-eastwards from Chuquiabo and the nearby ruins of Tiahuanacu on the southern edge of Lake Titicaca, his small caravan of retainers with its armed escort headed towards the coast where he planned to found a further settlement at the valley of Arequipa, which lies at the foot of the great Misti volcano, and whose agreeable climate and proximity to the Pacific made it an ideal location. However, on the road to Arequipa his immediate return to Cuzco was sought by its cabildo because news had been received of the Inca Emperor Manco's desire to negotiate a peace settlement. Instead of continuing eastwards, therefore, he sent the conquistadore Garcí Manuel de Cavajal to reconnoitre his new settlement, which would be founded the following year.

On numerous occasions Pizarro had attempted to reach an understanding with the Inca emperor but without any success. The resentment and hatred Manco felt towards Pizarro's brothers because of the torture he had received at their hands would never desert him. Neither would he ever be able to forget the humiliation of seeing his sister-queen Cura Ocllo raped by Gonzalo Pizarro. Subsequently she had been forced to live in his mansion in

Cuzco as one of his mistresses for almost two years, before she managed to make her escape from the city. The news Pizarro received in September 1539 had reached him some five months after he had ordered his brother Gonzalo to invade Manco's retreat of Vilcabamba, a fortress town he had built in the sub-tropical Andean forests near Machu Picchu, north-east of Cuzco.

In April 1539 Gonzalo had led an army of 300 men to Vilcabamba, among them all the principal encomenderos of Cuzco accompanied by their Indian levies, together with the Inca Paullu's auxiliaries, and together numbering several thousand warriors. Four centuries later the road they took was retraced by Hiram Bingham in his search for the ruins of Vilcabamba when he inadvertently discovered Machu Picchu's ruins. Led by his Indian scouts Gonzalo had taken his army deep into the mountain forest, where, because of the density of the undergrowth, his cavalymen had had to abandon their horses. On two occasions they had been ambushed as they had made their way through the mountain ravines and along the rock face; at times so narrow was the path that they could only advance in single file.

Pedro del Barco, who had commanded Gonzalo's infantry, recorded that 'the boulders and stones they rolled down upon us impeded our advance, in which I found myself in great danger of being killed in order to aid a fellow Spaniard [Gonzalo], and who was in great need of assistance, and because of which two Spaniards were killed and I was wounded. And we retreated from the pass. But after a while we returned there and found the Inca [Manco] with his men regrouped, and his archers positioned well in the path's defence, where we fought them.'⁸

Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, one of the cavalry captains of the expedition, recorded that he was the first to lead his squadron into battle, capturing 'the Inca's woman [Cura Ocllo] and his warrior chief, who was called Cusi Rimache'.⁹ He also recalled that as the emperor made his escape across a river he shouted at Manco in quéchua telling him to surrender, but that the Inca emperor shouted back 'that he was not such a coward as they thought him, and that his warriors had killed some two thousand Spaniards since and before his rising, and that he intended to kill them all'.¹⁰ Pedro Pizarro, who also took part in the expedition, recorded that for two months they searched in vain for the Inca Emperor. Titu Cusi

Yupanqui, one of Manco's sons, stated many years later in a testimonial to the Crown that on the expedition's return to Cuzco it halted for a short while at the mountain hamlet of Pampaconas, where many of its soldiers attempted to rape Manco's sister-queen Cura Ocllo, who defended herself by defiling her body with her excrement.¹¹

On his return to Cuzco, after meeting the expedition, Pizarro brought Cura Ocllo with him to the township of Ollantay in the Yucay valley, from where he sent Manco gifts in the hope of negotiating a peace. Incensed that his messengers, an African and two Indians, had been killed, he ordered what would be one of the most pitiful and brutal acts recorded of his person. The coya was stripped of her clothes and tied to a stake and whipped by his Cañari auxiliaries, who then shot her to death with their arrows. Her mutilated body was then placed in a canoe and let loose to float down the Yucay river. In Cuzco he implemented a further reprisal by callously burning a number of Inca lords and caciques who had come to the city to lay down their arms, among them the Villaoma: acts that would forever taint his name with ignominy in the eyes of a by now defeated and almost defenceless people.

At the time of the Vilcabamba campaign there were possibly some 4,000 Spaniards living within Pizarro's governorship of settlements and encomiendas, 200 of whom were women. There were 274 encomiendas recorded in the various regions of the colony: 86 at Cuzco; 22 at Huamanga; 34 at Huánuco; 37 at Arequipa; 45 at Lima; 45 at Trujillo; and 5 at Chachapoyas.¹² According to a census for the year 1540, all told there were 1,550,000 tributary Indians.

The colony's missionary Orders of Dominicans and Mercedarians, who may have numbered no more than a hundred throughout the various settlements, would however over time acquire some of the largest encomiendas in Peru. Only later would the Franciscan Order, which held a small mission in the Quito region, and the Augustinian Order establish themselves in Cuzco and in the southern provinces of the Collasuyo. The end of Inca resistance was also to increase the colony's appeal to a large number of immigrants from both the Isthmus and Spain, who would come to populate the settlements at Arequipa, La Plata and Huamanga: they would comprise mostly peasant farmers and Basque and Sevillian merchants, attracted by the 200 per cent profit on the goods they imported.

Artisans and architects were also among the new arrivals, who with the aid of Indian craftsmen began transforming the former Inca palaces of Cuzco into the monasteries, churches and mansion houses of its conquistadores, their Inca foundations visible beneath their sombre walls and façades reminiscent of Toledo.

The Indian chronicler Poma de Ayala described Cuzco's encomenderos as wearing 'thick doublets, flat scarlet hats with plumes, tight-fitting breeches, and short capes with long sleeves'.¹³ It was a far cry from the morrión helmets and armour they now donned only for their expeditions, or the virtual rags which was all that most of them had possessed when they left Panama only a decade previously. Their ear lobes, clothes and armour encrusted with precious stones, the veterans of Cajamarca presented an extraordinary and exotic spectacle to the Isthmian arrivals, as did the rich livery of their horses and African slaves, and the escorts on their travels – their Indian caciques and warriors from their encomiendas. The horses they rode were mostly of part Arab stock from Andalucía, small in stature, hardy and intelligent, and comparable to the wild North American palomino the Spaniards had taken there. Their mules, which were favoured by many of the conquistadores because of their strength and ability to carry heavy armour, were imported from as far afield as the island of Mallorca, reputed to have bred the finest such animals.

Pizarro further extended the frontiers of his colony by authorising the conquest of Chile under the Extremaduran hidalgo Pedro de Valdivia, whose expedition he had initially sanctioned during his prolonged stay in the valley of Chuquiabo, in April 1539. A small settlement had also been established from Spain at Our Lady of Buenos Aires, the future capital of Argentina, whose inhabitants would later be transferred across the Río de la Plata to the small colony at Asunción.

Pedro de Oncas y Valdivia was the son of a Portuguese hidalgo and an Extremaduran noblewoman, whose name he adopted. He was forty-two years old when he left Cuzco in mid-January 1540 in the company of only twelve Spaniards and his mistress-servant, Inés Sánchez. A soldier for most of his life, he had served in Italy and had fought at the Battle of Pavia where the French king had been taken prisoner. All that is known of his early years was recorded by him in his memorial to the Emperor Charles V. He had arrived at Hispaniola two years after the killing of Atahualpa, where like

most other colonists he made a living from the slave trade. Shortly afterwards he made his way to the island of Trinidad, and from there across to the settlement at Venezuela where he records he took part in the province's conquest for almost a year. On his return to Hispaniola he learnt of Pizarro's request for men to relieve the Emperor Manco's siege of Cuzco, for which service Pizarro offered volunteers both pay and the prospect of encomiendas. Some four hundred Spanish volunteers sailed to the Isthmus, and from there to the Peruvian port of Callao. They arrived in time to form part of the army Pizarro had organised for the relief of Cuzco. The news of Almagro's capture of Cuzco and his subsequent defeat of Alonso de Alvarado's reinforcements had left Pizarro little option but to return to Lima, taking with him his Caribbean volunteers.

It had, however, been Valdivia's service under his brother Hernando in the conquest of the Collasuyo that had brought him to Pizarro's attention, and which had led to his appointment. His planned expedition to Chile was the object of some ridicule and was derided by most of Cuzco's encomenderos, few of whom wished to associate themselves with a venture that had been so disastrous for Almagro and his companions. Only a few merchants, among them the conquistadore Lucas Martínez Vegazo, whose vast encomienda lands were to the south of Arequipa, had any interest in provisioning one of Valdivia's ships.

By the time Valdivia had left Arequipa and Martínez Velasco's encomienda of Tarapaca his small troop had quadrupled in number and had gathered some thousand Indian and African porters, before finally reaching the northern edge of the Atacama desert. Vast and daunting, it had proved the graveyard of many of Almagro's men and Indian porters, the sight of whose mummified and frozen corpses Valdivia would meet as he made the same waterless crossing, losing a number of his men and horses. It was also at Atacama that Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, Pizarro's secretary and chronicler, who after the capture of Cuzco had returned to Spain, made his entry into Valdivia's camp, bringing with him his own nomination of the governorship of Chile which he had obtained from the Emperor Charles V. The difficulty of the dual nominations – caused by the Crown's ignorance of Pizarro's appointment of Valdivia – was only resolved after Sancho de la Hoz agreed to surrender his rights. He signed a contract promising to serve Valdivia as a simple soldier, a climb-down possibly due to the fact he had been caught

attempting to murder him; an attempt the chronicler of Cuzco repeated several years later, and for which he was hanged as a common criminal.

After the crossing of the Atacama, Valdivia entered the valley of Copiapó, which he named New Extremadura. For almost a year he undertook the defence of his settlement, founding his capital of Santiago further along the coast in 1541 – six months before he learnt of the dramatic events that had taken place in Lima that would change the course of the colony's history.

The success of Valdivia's enterprise was soon followed by an equally hazardous expedition Pizarro ordered to explore the Amazon, which was led by his young brother Gonzalo, who, according to the evidence he gave on behalf of Pedro del Barco's testimonial shortly before his departure from Cuzco, was twenty-five years old at the time. A detailed account of the expedition was left by Garcilaso de la Vega, who had known many of its survivors:

[Francisco Pizarro] had heard that beyond Quito, and beyond the limits of the land ruled by the Incas, there was a vast and broad country where cinnamon was produced, and which was called La Canela, the land of cinnamon. He decided to send his brother Gonzalo to conquer the territory so that he might have as much land to govern as he himself governed. And after some consultation with his officials he appointed his brother governor of Quito, so that the citizens of that city would give him the assistance he needed for his expedition, and from where he would start his journey, as La Canela lies to the east of the city ...

He [Gonzalo] raised a further 100 soldiers, 340 in all, 140 horse and the rest on foot. He was accompanied by more than 4,000 Indians, carrying his arms and supplies, such as iron, axes, hatchets, ropes and cables, nails. He also took a herd of 4,000 llamas and pigs ...

He left Quito on Christmas Day 1539. His journey at first was peaceful and he received every help from the Indians until he reached the borders of the Inca empire ... in this province of Quixos which is to the north of Quito, many hostile tribesmen came out to confront him, but soon fled on seeing the strength of his forces and were not seen again. A few days later there was a violent earthquake, in the course of which many of the huts in the village, where the Spaniards were camped, fell down. The

earth opened up in many places, and there was much thunder and lightening and the Spaniards were greatly scared. It also rained so hard, endlessly for days ... [A]fter the storm had passed they attempted to make their way across the snow-covered cordillera, and though they were well supplied the mountains proved unpredictable, and they were faced with so much snow and cold that many of their Indian porters froze to death because of their lack of warm clothing.

In order to avoid the snow and cold the Spaniards decided to abandon their llamas and the food they had brought, imagining that they would be able to leave the region more easily and replace their provisions from further afield. But it was not the case. After they had made their way through the mountains they were in great need of food, and the land they came to was barren and uninhabited. They made all haste in leaving the area and reached a province and township called Sumaco, lying at the foot of a volcano, where they obtained food and water: though at a great price, for in the two months they were forced to remain there it rained every single day, causing them much harm and rotting their clothing.

In this province called Sumaco, which is on the Equator or near it, is found the cinnamon tree for which they searched. It is a very tall tree and has large leaves like laurels; the fruit consists of bunches of small fruits growing in husks like acorns. And though the tree and its leaves, its roots and bark all smell of cinnamon, these husks are the most perfect of spices ...

In Sumaco and the surrounding area the Spaniards found the Indians naked, and only the women wore a small cloth to cover themselves ... Gonzalo left most of his men in Sumaco, and took with him the strongest and youngest to forge ahead and see whether there was any road or track to advance on. The whole distance they had come since leaving the mountains, which was some hundred leagues, had been through the densest of forest, through which they had had to cut their way with their axes. The Indian guides Gonzalo had brought with him from Sumaco often lied to them, and sent them in the wrong direction, leading them away from their own native villages towards difficult terrain where the men he had brought with him suffered greatly, feeding themselves on herbs and roots and wild fruit, counting themselves fortunate even to find this.

Finally, they reached a province called Cuca, which was more inhabited than the other provinces, where they were able to find supplies. A large river passes this place and is thought to be the main river that leads to the river called Orellana, or by others the Marañon. There, Gonzalo made his camp for two months, waiting for the arrival of the men he had left behind at Sumaco, whom he had instructed to follow his trail if they were unable to find guides. When the men eventually reached the camp and had rested themselves, they all once more set out down the banks of the great river, and for fifty leagues they were unable to find a ford or bridge to make their crossing.

At the end of this long trek they discovered that the river reached a fall more than two hundred fathoms in height, making such a noise that it could be heard for almost six leagues away. They were astounded by what they witnessed, and even more so forty or fifty leagues further on, where the waters narrowed and cut through a gorge and on to another gigantic rock face. This channel is so narrow that it is no more than twenty feet from one bank to another, and so high that the ledge on which the Spaniards made their crossing is two hundred fathoms above its waters. Gonzalo, seeing that there was no easier way to cross the river and discover what lay beyond its other bank, since their whole trek had so far been through thick jungle, decided to build a bridge over its channel ... the bridge the Spaniards built was of wood and had been difficult to lay, for the height above the water was so great that it was rash for them even to look down, and one man who dared to look from its precipice became so faint he fell into the torrent below. When the other men witnessed his misfortune they each became more cautious, and with great toil and effort laid down the first beam, and with it the others that were needed, enabling them and their horses to make their crossing ...

With such struggle they reached a land called Guema, as poor as the rest. They found few Indians there, and such as there were took flight. The Spaniards and their Indian porters kept themselves alive on tree shoots and other herbs. Many fell sick and died from hunger and the difficulty of their march, and from the torrential rain that fell, for their clothing was always wet. In spite of all these hardships they travelled many leagues until they came to another country where they found the Indians more civilised, and who lived on maize bread and wore cotton clothing. But the land was as wet as ever. Scouts were sent in all

directions to see if a better road could be found but they returned with the same tale that the surrounding country was forest and marsh-land, with pools that led nowhere and could not be forded. They therefore decided to build a brigantine for crossing the river, for it was now so wide that it stretched some two leagues across. They set up a forge to do the riveting, and made charcoal with some difficulty, for the rain was so frequent it prevented them from burning their fires. They made shelters to cover them, and also huts to cover themselves from the rain, for though the land is under the Equator and extremely hot, they had no way of protecting themselves from the downpour. Part of the riveting was made from the horseshoes of their horses they had already killed to give their sick food, another part of the riveting was made from their armour, which they had valued more than gold itself.

Gonzalo, as the fine soldier he was, was the first to cut wood, forge iron, make charcoal, or undertake another chore, however menial; so as to set an example to his men, and prevent anyone avoiding such work. The pitch they made for their brigantine was made from the resin of the trees, which they found in abundance. Tow was made from their cloaks and shirts, or to be honest, their rotting garments, each vying with his companion to surrender his own, even though he remained shirtless; for they all believed that their salvation lay with the brigantine, which they launched amid great rejoicing ...

They loaded the brigantine with all the gold they had brought with them, which amounted to more than 100,000 pesos, and many rich emeralds, and the iron and shoes and everything else that they possessed of value. They also embarked the sick, who could not travel over land. In this manner they escaped from this place after walking for almost two hundred leagues, making their way downstream, some by land and some by water but not getting far apart, and gathering at night to sleep together. They made their way with much difficulty, cutting a path through the forest, and those on the brigantine fighting against the current for fear of being separated from their comrades.

When the forest was too thick for them to advance down the bank they had to cross to the opposite shore in the brigantine and in four canoes they had also built; this being the most difficult part of their journey, for it took two, and at times three days to make their crossing in this manner ... eventually they came across some Indians who told them by signs and

by certain words which their Indian guides could understand that there was an inhabited land some ten days journey away, where they could find plenty of food and which was rich in gold, situated on the banks of another great river that joined the one they were on.

Gonzalo appointed one of his captains, Francisco de Orellana, to take charge of the brigantine and to take fifty men with him to where the Indians had told them, a distance of some eighty leagues, and to bring food back with them: for the men were so tormented by hunger that they were dying by the day, both Spaniard and Indian. Of the 4,000 who had started on the expedition, more than 2,000 had already perished.

Francisco de Orellana sailed the eighty leagues in three days without the use of sails or oars. He did not however find any food there ... and realising that if he remained there it would help no one, for he had no idea how long it would take Pizarro to reach him by land, he defied his order and set sail downstream with the intention of abandoning Gonzalo and returning to Spain to claim the conquest and government of the land for himself. Many of his men opposed his decision, suspecting his ill intention ... in particular the Friar Gaspar de Carvajal, and also a young man from Badajoz called Hernán Sánchez de Vargas, who those opposed to him appointed their leader. They would have come to blows had Orellana not pacified them with his fair words, though afterwards when they had calmed down he abused the poor friar with not only words but blows, and would have left him there had he not been a religious man. He did however abandon Hernán Sánchez de Vargas, who, so as to assure him of a more cruel and lingering death, he refused to kill, but left him to his fate in the wild forest ...

Further downriver Orellana had several encounters with Indians dwelling on its banks. They showed great ferocity, and in some places their women came down and fought beside their men. And for this reason Orellana described the country as the land of the Amazons, so as to enhance his petition for its governorship. Beyond these provinces, further downriver the Indians who were more friendly received him well, and were astounded at seeing the brigantine and meeting such strange men. The Spaniards befriended them and were given as much food as they needed. They stayed there some days and then built another brigantine because they were greatly overcrowded. Thus, they sailed into the sea,

which they reached two hundred leagues from the island of Trinidad according to the mariner's chart ...

At Trinidad Orellana purchased a ship in which he returned to Spain and sought His Majesty's mandate for the conquest of the land, exaggerating his undertaking by claiming that it possessed much gold, silver and precious stones, and offering as proof the little he had brought with him. His Majesty awarded him the government of whatever land he might conquer. Orellana then recruited 500 good soldiers, including many distinguished captains, with whom he embarked at San Lúcar [de Barrameda] for his expedition. He died at sea ... such was the end of his journey.

After he [Gonzalo] had sent Orellana off with the brigantine he built ten or twelve dozen canoes and as many rafts, so as to be able to cross the river, from one bank to another, whenever the forest became too dense. Thus they travelled in the hope that the brigantine would soon return with supplies to alleviate the hunger that tormented them: for hunger was their greatest enemy. After two months they reached the junction of the two great rivers, where they believed they would find the brigantine laden with food, thinking that it had not been able to return upriver because of the strength of the current. But they lost all hope of coming back from that hellhole, a name that can well describe their suffering, trials and miseries, with no remedy of either hope or escape. At the juncture of the two rivers they found the good Hernán Sánchez de Vargas, who with the spirit of a knight had remained in that place, and he gave Gonzalo Pizarro a full account of what had happened ... the men were shattered and grieved by what they heard, and on the brink of despair.

Though Gonzalo shared their emotions, he consoled and encouraged them, bidding them to overcome their misfortune, and reminding them that they were Spaniards; and that the greater their misfortune, the more honour and fame they would leave to posterity, since it had befallen them to be the conquistadores of their empire. Let them, he told them, behave like men chosen by divine providence for such a great enterprise. At this they took heart, though they knew his disappointment was as great as theirs. And so, they continued their journey down the banks of that great river, first on one side and then on the other, crossing over whenever they were obliged to do so. Their struggle in getting their horses to remain on

the rafts was almost unbelievable, for there still remained some 80 horses ...

Amidst these hardships they journeyed another hundred leagues downstream without finding any improvement in the land, and when they had seen this they decided if it were possible to return to Quito, a distance of four hundred leagues. And as they could not sail upstream the way they had come, they took another route north of the river, since they had seen that there were fewer lakes and marshes there. They penetrated deep into the forest, cutting their way with axes and billhooks, to which work they were now so accustomed that it was almost second nature to them and the least of their hardships if they had had food.¹⁴

Agustín de Zárate, who also based his information on various eyewitness accounts, concludes the description of their march:

When they considered the way they had come, they felt they would never get back but die of hunger in those forests, where more than forty of them actually perished with no hope of rescue. They leant against trees and begged each other for food, but were so thin they died of starvation. And so, commending themselves to God, Gonzalo Pizarro's men returned, leaving the road by which they had come since it led through such dense land. They chose another route at random but it was no better, keeping alive by killing and eating their remaining horses and a few greyhounds and dogs they had with them. They also ate shoots and herbs, and a vine similar to garlic in taste. A wild puma or a fowl changed hands at fifty pesos of gold, and a pelican at ten.

Thus Gonzalo Pizarro pushed forward towards Quito, where he had sent news of his return a long time beforehand. The people of Quito collected great quantities of pigs and llamas, and some horses and clothing for him and for his captains, and brought them out of the city to meet him. These reached him when he was still more than fifty leagues away from Quito, and he and his men received them with the greatest of joy. They were all virtually naked, for their clothing had rotted long since because of the rains. All they wore were loincloths made from deerskin, some old breeches and leggings and hats made of leather. Their swords were sheathless and rusted. They were all on foot, and their arms and legs

scored with wounds from thorns and bushes ... they were so pale and disfigured that they were hardly recognisable.

They told a story of great hardship, and what they had missed most had been salt, of which they had discovered no trace for almost two hundred leagues. When they reached Quito and received the food and the people's help, they kissed the ground, thanking God for bringing them through all their suffering and perils. And they fell on their food with such ferocity that they had to be restrained until their stomachs gradually became reaccustomed to digesting it. When Gonzalo Pizarro and his captains saw that the people had brought them only enough horses and clothing for themselves, they refused to mount or put on any of the clothes ...¹⁵

In this state of deprivation Pizarro's brother entered Quito, ignorant of all that had occurred in the year and a half of his absence.

EIGHT

Marqués of the Indies

With all his greatness and wealth, he was so wretched and poor when he died that there was no one to bury him.

Garcilaso de la Vega Inca, Historia General del Perú

For over a year Pizarro's colony enjoyed a period of relative tranquillity, free from Indian attack and from any threat from Almagro's defeated supporters. The marqués, as he was by then known, having received his title from a grateful monarch, and which equalled in rank that of Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, had more than realised everything he had striven for so many years to achieve: a territory of such immensity and wealth as no single Spaniard could ever have dreamt of, and which in reality was his personal fiefdom. Not even the prospect looming over him of the imminent arrival from Spain of the king emperor's licentiate Vaca de Castro, the Crown's inspector, was of any consequence to him, although he had been sent to investigate not only Almagro's killing but to assert greater control on the part of the Crown over the colony's government.

Pizarro's independence was a danger the Spanish Crown had anticipated in the case both of Columbus and Cortés, whose rule of their colonies had been firmly curtailed by the Council of the Indies. Cortés, who on his mother's side was a cousin of Pizarro's father, and who had himself first heard of Pizarro's existence when he had met him at court in Toledo, and who had possibly been instrumental in advising a single command of his conquest, had suffered the fate of his own ambition. In similar manner, Pizarro was by then regarded by certain officials in Spain as a law unto himself, even though his loyalty was never questioned. The fact that his brother Hernando had been arrested on his return to Toledo and charged with Almagro's killing had done little to reassure the Crown of Pizarro's future as governor, of what was realised to be the richest of all Spain's colonies in the New World. Neither did the image of a by then cantankerous and demented old conquistadore upholding every single tenet of his royal

mandate appeal to officials, who saw themselves as the colony's future administrators and governors.

Pizarro was a problem for the Crown. He was far too powerful within Peru to be stripped of his privileges or government for any reason other than treason. Nor would he have been coerced into abandoning his colony for a life of exile in Spain, however much privilege or honours were heaped upon him: a country by then almost alien to him, and in which he had lived for only one-fifth of his life. It was also becoming evident to the Crown, principally after the report it received from the Friar Bishop Tomás Berlanga and other missionaries, that the power wielded by Pizarro's conquistadores in their encomiendas was as absolute as his own, and that in their lands the common law of Spain had no jurisdiction in the treatment of the Indian population, most of whom were by then virtually slaves.

The other requirement the Crown found itself unable to verify was the validity of the accounting of its revenues from the colony. This had depended almost entirely on the good faith of its treasurer, Alonso de Riquelme, himself a veteran of the Conquest and an encomendero of Lima, and one of the most corrupt men in the colony. The visit to Spain of the Dominican Vicente de Valverde and his appointment as Bishop of Cuzco had also highlighted the need for a moral approach to the Indian problem of encomienda service, and to the treatment of Indian tribute labour in general, issues that had been ignored when the Spaniards had been fighting for their survival during the sieges of Cuzco and Lima, but which were now regarded as of relevance. It was a reform widely canvassed at the Spanish court by the most influential of all the Dominicans, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, who was highly critical of Pizarro's conquest, and whose Order, the custodians of the Inquisition, had been at the forefront of the initial missionary role in the New World.

A further slur on Pizarro's reputation took the form of a continual litany of complaints aired by the returning veterans loyal to Almagro, many of whom had given evidence against Pizarro for appropriating the Crown's share of the Cajamarca and Cuzco booty, and who were only too willing to purvey any slander against him, whether based on some element of truth or simply invented. It was a time for settling scores, for favours to be called in and vent given to long-standing grievances; when the future of the men of Cajamarca and of their leader was being questioned by official and missionary, whether in the silence of some distant Andalusian monastery or

within the council chamber of a Crown lawyer in Valladolid. Their fate rested on their answers.

Pizarro had by then become a problem for the Spanish Crown, who saw his role as virtually spent. Though his death would be mourned in Spain it would be welcomed by a pragmatic and equally evolving colonial administration, freed from the constraints of his shadow and the self-interest of his conquistadores whose prosperity he had always protected, and whose hatred of the Crown's officials would later manifest itself in open rebellion.

In the year 1541, the City of the Kings at Lima represented the almost intransigent sovereignty of Peru's conquistadores. The city – then no more than a small coastal town, lying in a plain beside the Rimac River – was Pizarro's creation and greatest love. He had helped both with its planning and design, lending his hand in its building whenever he had the time, and in particular assisting with the mills he had constructed on his allotment of land by its river. Its buildings were so close to the river that 'a good marksman could drop a small stone into the water from its main square'.¹

Four half-finished churches dominated its skyline. The small cathedral church in the Plaza Mayor, its main square, overlooked the daily market of Indian stalls and vendors, who assembled there every morning, bringing with them their produce of fruit, llama meat and fish from the surrounding farmlands and nearby port of Callao. The monasteries of Santo Domingo, San Francisco and La Merced were also visible from the square, their whitewashed brick towers and stone cloisters only partially assembled, as were the taverns and brothels of Indian and African women frequented by the Spaniards. The streets were of dried earth and their smell of sewage and horse dung soon cleared with the sea breeze.

Most of its principal houses faced the Plaza Mayor, though none was yet adorned with the elaborate façades and arched patios their owners would commission in the coming years from the immigrant architects and masons of Seville, who would transform Lima into an Andalusian city. A dense cloud of sea mist, known as the *garúa*, hung over its buildings for most of the year, and only on the outskirts of the city on higher ground, where its orchards and farmlands were situated, could its sky be seen with clarity.

Its streets are straight and all lead into its central square, from where the outlying countryside can be seen at either end. The climate is temperate and [it] is a very pleasant place to live, for neither the heat nor the cold is

oppressive at any time in the year ... it has now five hundred households, but covers a much larger space than a Spanish city of fifteen hundred, because the streets and square are very wide and each house occupies a plot eighty foot in frontage and twice as deep. The houses cannot be built of more than one storey since there is no timber in the land suitable for flooring, and none that does not rot within years. Nevertheless, the houses are very luxurious and imposing, and have many rooms. The walls are built of mud brick five feet thick, and the floors are formed on raised earth platforms, so that the windows looking out on to the street may be high above the ground. The staircases are in the open courtyard, and lead to terraces that serve as corridors or ante-chambers from which the rooms are entered. The roofing is of rough joists on which is hung a ceiling of painted canvas, or else of coloured mats like those made at Almería, which also covers the joists. On top of all this boughs are laid. The rooms are very high and cool, and as such well shaded from the sun.²

Pizarro's house was situated at the northern end of the Plaza Mayor and was by far the most imposing of the city's private buildings, though its decoration and adornments would possibly have been sparse in keeping with his character. It comprised two patios and a stable for his horses and mules, from which a small garden and orchard led down to the banks of the river. Nothing is known about the interior of the house other than that its rooms opened out into the main patio, and that the second patio was reached by an elevated stone staircase. To one side of the house, which was of two floors, ran a wooden balcony from which, according to the chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, the city's small port could be seen in the distance.³

A man of simple tastes, Pizarro exhibited none of the ostentation of most of his veteran conquistadores, dressing habitually in a long black coat. Still physically strong even in old age, his only distraction other than gambling and playing bowls was working the allotment of land and orchard he had planted with lemons and oranges, the seeds of which had been brought from Seville. Like most of the men of Cajamarca he lived with his Indian women, preferring their company to that of Spanish women – a preference he had in common with many former slavers, as is evident in the bequests they made in their wills. But unlike most of his veterans, the actual extent of the huge fortune he had accumulated during his career in both booty and

revenues is almost impossible to ascertain, other than in the value of his encomiendas, which included the entire Yucay valley near Cuzco, and his mines in the Charcas.

Each of the handful of conquistadores called to testify in Cuzco some thirty years later, on behalf of his daughter and his brother Hernando, record that he had been forced to spend all his personal wealth in the defence of the colony at the time of the Emperor Manco's sieges of Lima and Cuzco, a vast outlay for which the Crown had never reimbursed him.⁴ However true or false their testimony, much of which was inspired by loyalty to his memory and the financial inducements his brother Hernando undoubtedly showered on his elderly comrades-in-arms, his supposed poverty at the time of his death borders on fiction. Apart from his original encomiendas, in his award of a marquisate in October 1537 he had also been granted 20,000 Indian vassals, the revenues of whose tribute he had enjoyed for a number of years.⁵ (Pizarro never gave a territorial title to his marquisate.) What is evident is that after his death his fortune in gold and silver, most of which had been buried, was either discovered by his assassins or remains concealed in some undisclosed *tapado*, the name given by the colonists to the wall niches or burial sites where they hid their personal wealth.

For several years Pizarro had lived with the young Inca Princess Quispe Sisa, who after her baptism at Jauja was known as Doña Inés, and whom Atahualpa had gifted him at Cajamarca. She was the mother of his daughter Francisca who had been born at Jauja, and of his son and heir Gonzalo, whom he had named after his father, born a year later. Nothing is recorded of their life together, though it would have been no different to any other relationship between a conquistadore and his Indian woman, who other than sharing his bed was treated as little more than a servant, and who as various testimonials record referred to their Spanish lovers simply as their 'masters', however exalted their own native rank.⁶

Doña Inés's demanding and jealous temperament is, however, recalled by Pedro Pizarro, who describes her role during the siege of Lima in the killing of one of her half-sisters, Azarpay, the widow of Pizarro's unfortunate puppet Emperor Túpac Huallpa:

At Lima the marqués ordered the killing of another Indian woman, a sister-wife of Atahualpa. After Atahualpa's death she came from

Cajamarca to Jauja with Túpac Huallpa, her brother, and after his death, His Majesty's treasurer Navarro asked the marqués that she be given to him, believing as he did that she knew of the whereabouts of great amounts of treasure; and which she may well have known about, being as she was one of the principal women of this realm, and revered by the natives as such. And made aware of Navarro's intention, one night she made her escape and returned to Cajamarca. Some time later, when the Indian rebellion had broken out, a certain Verdugo went to Cajamarca with several other Spaniards, and learning of the presence in the town of this lady he made her his prisoner, and brought her with him to Lima and gave her to the marqués; and it was while the marqués had her in his house that the Indians besieged the city; and one of the woman's sisters, who belonged to the marqués and was called Doña Inés, being envious of the woman because she was of a more exalted rank, told the marqués that her sister had called the Indians to besiege the city, and that if he did not kill her they would never lift the siege. And without a single thought he ordered her to be garrotted and killed.⁷

Irrespective of his admiration for his elderly kinsman to whom he owed all his honours and wealth, Pedro Pizarro leaves a damning indictment of him, referring also to his killing of the Emperor Manco's sister-wife the Coya Cura Ocllo, with the words: 'I have wished to record these events regarding these two ladies, who were killed with such little consideration, let alone that they were women, and with no fault of their own.'

Pizarro, however, either from remorse or simple boredom, soon after discarded Doña Inés for another of her relatives, forcing one of his Spanish servants, Francisco de Ampuero, to marry her. It was an order with which the young and ambitious Riojano hidalgo willingly agreed in the hope of ingratiating himself with his master: a union that would see him become not only an encomendero of the city, but in time one of its principal officials. Pizarro separated his mestizo children from their mother in order to bring them up as Spaniards – something that would become common practice among the conquistadores – and placed them in the care of his sister-in-law Inés Muñoz, the wife of his half-brother Francisco Martín de Alcántara, who kept house for him and whose own home was nearby.

Inés Muñoz was a hard-working peasant who had accompanied her husband to the colony from the Isthmus a year after the capture of Cuzco,

and who had lost her own two children in the passage from Spain to Nombre de Dios. Though most likely illiterate she nevertheless supervised a comprehensive schooling for her nephews, hiring tutors and governesses from the Isthmus and from Seville, and raising them as best she could in the manner of the nobility of her homeland. The Inca princess's role as a mother would end for ever, and though she would have had access to her children, her influence on them would in time become non-existent, as is made evident by her daughter Francisca's wills in which her name is barely mentioned with any affection.

Pizarro's sexual inclinations soon after turned to another Inca princess, Cuxirimay, later known as Doña Angelina, who had possibly also lived in his household as a semi-servant since he took her into his care at Cajamarca, where she had served her cousin Atahualpa as his favourite wife. Regarded as one of the most beautiful of the princesses in the emperor's harem, she had been raped by the Indian translator Felipillo, and at Atahualpa's death had tried to kill herself. Her relationship as Pizarro's mistress must have started well before he discarded Doña Inés; for at his meeting with Almagro at Mala he had angrily accused him of holding her prisoner, which possibly implies she had been captured in Cuzco. Their first child Francisco was born in 1539 and their second son Juan was born a year later. Both children were living with Pizarro and their mother at the time of his murder.

On the morning of Sunday 26 July 1541, the witness Isabel de Ovalle recorded that after hearing Mass in the cathedral she was making her way home when she saw seven men, among them Juan Balsa and Martín de Bilbao, walking from the direction of the Bishop's house, with their swords unsheathed and shouting 'Long live the King! Death to traitors!' and heading towards the marqués's house.⁸

For several weeks rumours had been rife of an impending revolt to be led by the followers of Almagro's mestizo son Diego, kept under virtual house arrest in the city with several of his father's old retainers. Pizarro had at first ignored the rumours, for though he had stripped the 24-year-old Almagro of all his father's possessions, he had been considerate in his treatment of him, regardless of his role in his father's rebellion. Some chroniclers record the poverty in which Diego de Almagro had been forced to live in the two years since his arrival at Lima after the Battle of Salinas, describing how he and

his companions were even forced to share one cloak between them. But as the Peruvian historian Raúl Porras Barrenechea pointed out in his formidable though unfinished biography of Pizarro, Diego and his followers were nevertheless sufficiently wealthy at the time to purchase large quantities of arms, and to finance the organisation of a populist insurrection not only in Lima but in several other cities in the colony.⁹

Although Pizarro is credited with attempting to effect a reconciliation with the more prominent among Almagro's supporters by offering them encomiendas, which they refused to accept, he would not reconsider his decision with regard to Diego de Almagro. Nor did the public spectacle, encouraged by the marqués's adherents, of parading through the city's streets on certain feast days a life-size effigy of the Adelantado on a donkey serve to promote harmony. Moreover, the insolent and often imperious behaviour of Pizarro's secretary Antonio Pizado, a man equally hated by the veteran conquistadores, could hardly lead to anything other than further umbrage and discord. As in the case of his brother Hernando, Pizarro appeared almost beguiled by his secretary, who handled all his correspondence and influenced much of his administration.

The supporters of Almagro, however, were consoled in the knowledge that the justification for their championing of the Adelantado was being examined by the Council of the Indies in Spain, and that his killing would be investigated by the royal licentiate Vaca de Castro on his arrival in Peru. The delay of the licentiate in reaching the South American mainland, due to various mishaps on his journey from the Isthmus, had however only fanned the flames of an already highly charged situation among Diego de Almagro's followers, who spoke of little other than killing Pizarro as their only means of obtaining justice. It was a decision born out of desperation bordering on stupidity and taken by the more ruthless conspirators in the name of Almagro's son, among them Juan Balsa, the Adelantado's former treasurer and one of the executors of his will. For any of them to imagine that such an act would ever be pardoned by the licentiate or by the Crown, in hindsight appears unbelievable and can only be explained by their uncontrollable hatred and loathing for Pizarro.

In order to bring an end to the rumours, Pizarro called for Juan de Herrada, considered to be one of the principal conspirators. Meeting Herrada alone in the orchard of his house, Pizarro asked him whether there

was any truth in what he had heard. And when he was assured by Herrada that there was none, he cut a bunch of small oranges from one of his trees and gave them to him as a present. Herrada kissed his hand and departed.

Sunday 26 July marked the eighth anniversary of the killing of Atahualpa at Cajamarca; it was a day Pizarro had always regarded as ominous, even though it was also the day on which he had been granted by the Empress Isabella at Toledo the *Capitulación* for his conquest. At ten o'clock that morning, after seeing his two young children and their Indian mother Doña Angelina, he had welcomed in the main patio of his house his two lieutenants Juan Velázquez and Francisco de Cháves, who were accompanied by his secretary Pizado. Mass was said in the small chapel at the back of the building by a Biscayan priest, a man Pizarro neither cared for nor trusted, but whose habit it was to make himself available to perform that simple duty. It is reported that after the Mass the priest warned him to take care of himself, but it is more likely that he said nothing to him at all, taking the silver peso always left for him and departing.

So they came to the marqués's house, leaving one of them at the door whose sword was blooded after killing a llama in the forecourt, shouting 'The tyrant is dead!' Some people, thinking this to be true, ran to their homes. Juan de Herrada climbed the staircase with his men. Warned by some Indians who were standing by the gates of the house, the marqués ordered Francisco de Cháves to close and guard the door of the main hall while he went to arm himself. But Cháves was so taken aback he went out on to the staircase without shutting the door. One of the conspirators thrust their sword into him, and feeling the wound and blood he asked 'Will you also kill me?' Then all the others attacked and stabbed him. And leaving him dead they rushed forward up the stairs towards the marqués's ante-chamber. A number of Spaniards who were there fled, jumping out of the windows into the garden below, among them Velázquez, who held the baton of his office as mayor between his teeth as he lowered himself down from one of the windows.

The marqués was meanwhile arming himself in his chamber with the help of his brother Francisco Martín. Two other men and two pages, Juan de Vargas, the son of Gómez de Tordoya, and Escandon were also there. Seeing his enemies so close at hand, and unable to do up the straps of his cuirass, he ran to the door with his sword and shield. Here he and his

companions defended themselves with such courage that for a while they kept the men from breaking in ...

The intruders fought equally hard and killed Francisco Martín, though one of the marqués's pages immediately took up his position ... they then fell on the marqués with such fury that he was too exhausted to wield his sword any more. And so they finished him off with a thrust to the throat ... as he fell he cried out for a confessor. But his words failed him, and with his blood he made the sign of the Cross on the floor where he lay.¹⁰

Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, was dead. He was sixty-five years old. What was shameful, as the chronicler Agustín de Zárate records, was the behaviour of his officials and closest friends who, almost to a man, fled. Only his sister-in-law Inés Muñoz, incensed by the murder of her own husband, had the courage to confront his killers and demand that she be allowed to give him a Christian burial. Having already taken his children to the safety of the convent of La Merced, she stood her ground amid the abuse of the throng of people who had by then filled the city's main square, numbering in all it was recorded some two hundred Spaniards who shouted their allegiance to Almagro's son.

Not one of his old comrades dared raise a sword in his name; not Nicolás de Ribera, the old man, who had accompanied him on the island of Gallo, and who like all the other encomenderos of the city owed their honours and fortunes to him; nor Pedro de Alconchel, his loyal trumpeter at Cajamarca, who had walked behind him from Trujillo to Seville; not even his former servant Ampuero who had married his Indian mistress, and whom he had rewarded with riches and an encomienda, and who it was said was one of the men who abandoned him to his death, jumping from the window of his house.

Most of the Spaniards thronging the square had wanted to hang his bloodied corpse from a gibbet in the centre of the Plaza, but a semblance of charity prevailed to allow his sister-in-law to bury him. Accompanied by Juan de Barbarán, a shopkeeper in the city, she once more entered his house, and finding his body almost stripped of its clothes she washed it and dressed it as hurriedly as she could before asking two of her African slaves to help her carry it to the cathedral. Covering his body with a white sheet, they carried it into the square and through the multitude of men who were cursing and yelling at them, demanding to lynch his corpse. But again his

sister-in-law confronted them, and would not allow them to touch him, abusing them for their cowardice, and with only Juan de Barbarán and the two Africans to support her they once more made their way across the square and into the cathedral church, where that night they buried him.

For fourteen months the former Inca empire and Spanish colony of New Castile would be torn apart by civil war. Within the hour of Pizarro's killing, Diego de Almagro's son was proclaimed by his supporters ruler of Peru. The repercussions were immediate and bloody. Antonio Pizado, Pizarro's secretary, who had also abandoned his master by making his escape, was discovered hiding under the bed of the Royal Treasurer Alonso de Riquelme. Confronted by the rebels, Riquelme had taken them up to his bedroom and, though in a loud voice denying any knowledge of his whereabouts, gestured with his eyes at the spot where the unfortunate secretary was hiding.¹¹ No mercy was shown Pizado by Almagro's followers for they tortured him brutally in their attempts to discover the whereabouts of Pizarro's personal treasure. Placed naked on a donkey, he was paraded through the square of Lima before being hanged. Fear and terror reigned over the city as the new caudillo's supporters looted Pizarro's house and any other household that would deny them loyalty.

One of the few who managed to make his escape from the city was the Friar Bishop Valverde, veteran of Cajamarca. Valverde was in his early forties at the time and had recently returned from Spain, where he had been awarded the bishopric of Cuzco and primacy of the colony's Church. A native of the westerly Spanish township of Oropesa, where his father had been a servant of its ruling family of Toledo, in his later years he had led a determined campaign to alleviate the plight of the encomenderos' Indians even though he was himself an encomendero of Lima. He had also in his letters advised the Crown on a number of issues concerning the colony's administration, which in effect because of their liberal viewpoint had undermined Pizarro's authority. As the historian James Lockhart observes in his profile of Valverde, his suggestions to the Crown for the subdivision of the colony into governmental districts 'anticipated the modern boundaries of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador'.¹²

Having returned to Peru at the height of the elder Almagro's rebellion Valverde had attempted as best he could to act as a mediator between the two former partners, but without success. His presence in Lima after the

Battle of Salinas had done little to alleviate the hardship of Almagro's son, who despised his inability to persuade Hernando Pizarro to save his father's life. Nor was the young mestizo much impressed by the large family retinue the Dominican had brought back with him from Spain, including a brother and a sister, who were rewarded with encomiendas that had once belonged to his father's fallen soldiers.

On All Saints' Day 1541, Valverde made his escape from Lima by ship in the company of his family and several other of Pizarro's followers who had managed to bribe their way to freedom. At Tumbes, the travellers disembarked before once more heading to Guayaquil, where Valverde's brother held one of the principal encomiendas. There, in the estuary of the city's harbour they were attacked by Indians from the island of Puná and butchered to death. With his bloody killing, it was as though the ghost of Atahualpa had returned to haunt the Spaniards, who had already taken the lives of Almagro and Pizarro, all three of whom had conspired in the emperor's death.

The rebellion spread throughout the settlements, forcing many of the encomenderos of Cuzco and Lima to flee to the coast or to the northern Andes where loyalist contingents would later muster to await the arrival of the licentiate Vaca de Castro, who would assume the governorship of the colony. Mansio Serra de Leguizamón recalled:

I left Cuzco for the coast, in order to take a caravel in search of the licentiate Vaca de Castro, accompanied by eight friends, all well armed, mounted and provisioned; and because Almagro, the younger, had been informed that I had gone in search of the licentiate, he took from me my house in Cuzco and my Indians; and I and my friends were captured by García de Alvarado, his captain, who dispossessed us of our arms, horses and Negro slaves, all of which were worth some eight thousand pesos of gold, and having robbed us and hung one of our companions he brought us to Cuzco as his prisoners.¹³

Serra de Leguizamón and his companions were taken prisoner in the Cuntisuyo by a rebel squadron of Almagro's commander García de Alvarado, who had executed in Arequipa's main square their comrade Francisco de Montenegro, whom he hanged. As befell other Pizarro loyalists, Serra de Leguizamón's partially built mansion in Cuzco and his

encomienda of Alca were looted and stripped of all their possessions, and in his case appropriated by Martín de Bilbao, one of Pizarro's assassins. Others, who at the time were on various expeditions of conquest, such as Gonzalo Pizarro in the Amazon basin, were to remain ignorant of the rebellion and of Pizarro's death.

The 49-year-old licentiate Don Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, a former judge of Valladolid appointed by the Crown to inspect the colony, had himself only learnt of Pizarro's killing at Popayán after making a lengthy detour and suffering a severe illness. On reaching Quito he sent despatches to all the principal municipalities and settlements, calling for Almagro's surrender and offering the rebel army which had assembled in strength at Lima and at Cuzco a pardon if they laid down their arms. It was an offer that was ignored not only by Almagro, but by the majority of the cabildos, many of whose officials had requisitioned the encomiendas in their regions. However, it was several months before he could assemble an army, of under a thousand men, many of them from the Isthmus, to march south and relieve Lima.

For eleven months the city of Cuzco remained in the hands of Almagro and his captains, supported by the Indian auxiliaries of the Inca Paullu, who once more sided with a rebel army. Weapons of every kind, coat armour and gunpowder were manufactured in the city's armouries, most of whose smiths were Greeks and employed by their fellow countryman Pedro de Candía, one of the few disaffected veterans of Cajamarca who had thrown in his lot with the rebels.

In the first days of September 1542, the rebel army left Cuzco on its march north to the central Andean settlement at Huamanga. Like many other conquistadores, Alonso de Mesa, who had also managed to flee Cuzco before its capture, fearing he would be killed in the coming battle, dictated his will shortly before the rebel army reached the mountain ridge of Chupas. Among his various bequests he ordered that in the event of his death his gaming debts owed him be repaid by various individuals, and among the possessions he listed and which he took with him to the battle were 'a dark brown stallion, and one which is black called Gaspar, and a black mare called Fernanda, together with my arms and my spurs'.¹⁴

On the mountain ridge of Chupas, the two armies met in an encounter that was as bloody as that of Salinas; it was described in part by the

conquistadore Lucas Martínez Vegazo and several other encomenderos of Arequipa in a letter to the Emperor Charles V:

The rebels began their advance across the mountain ridge to almost a league in distance of our troops as their horsemen scouts rode out to inspect our positions. The governor [Vaca de Castro] then ordered one of his captains and fifty harquebusiers to move forward and take possession of the nearest ridge, and also another captain with an equal number of lancers, which they succeeded in doing; seeing this, our enemies, who were still some three quarters of a league distant from us, began to move in search of a position to engage us, and this they did, placing their artillery in line and their squadrons of cavalry who were some two hundred and thirty horse, accompanied by some fifty foot soldiers; their infantry consisted of two hundred harquebusiers and a hundred and fifty pikemen, all so well armed that not even troops from Milan could match them in their armour and weapons; their artillery consisted of six guns, of ten and twelve feet in length, and capable of shooting a ball the size of an orange; they also had six other smaller guns and great quantities of munitions and powder ... the governor then ordered our advance, and we marched to within reach of their harquebusiers' shot, advancing further still, till we engaged them with our lances, pikes and swords in a battle that lasted for almost an entire hour; and never was witnessed such a cruel and brutal fighting, in which neither brother, relative nor friend, spared each other's lives.¹⁵

Pizarro's former comrade the Greek Pedro de Candía, who had commanded the rebel artillery and had been reluctant to fire on the loyalist army, was within the hour lanced to death by Almagro. It was a betrayal that had effectively cost the rebels their victory, even though they had been urged to continue fighting by their young leader who promised them the Indian women of the loyalist captains for their booty. As at Salinas, the Inca Paullu and his auxiliaries, seeing the battle going in the loyalists' favour, changed allegiance and Paullu turned on his former allies, slaughtering them without mercy. As night fell the dead and wounded could be counted in their hundreds, their bodies stripped of their clothing by the Indians as booty and left to be mauled by the packs of mastiffs.

Among the dead were Vaca de Castro's commander Alvarez Holguín and the rebel captain Martín de Bilbao, who before the battle had harangued the loyalists by boasting he had killed Pizarro. Almagro's commander Juan Balsa had managed to flee, only to be captured by his own Indian retainers who beat him to death. Commenting on the battle the chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León stated of his countrymen: 'Though their wars were long, and of great occurrence, never before in the history of the world did a people of a nation so cruelly pursue them, ignoring death and their own lives in order to avenge their passions and hatred for one another.'¹⁶

The ghosts of Pizarro and Almagro hung over each of the slain and wounded, for it was their disagreements, incited by men such as Hernando Pizarro, Pizado and the Adelantado's landless followers, that had caused such grief and turmoil in so short a period of the colony's history.

Diego de Almagro fled south to the Yucay valley, but was eventually captured and brought to Cuzco where Vaca de Castro ordered his execution in the city's main square. Honouring his last request, his headless body was taken to Cuzco's convent of La Merced where it was buried beside his father, the head placed at the feet as the mark of a traitor.

The colony, whose governorship Vaca de Castro had assumed, was a prime example in its organisation of the abuses inflicted on the conquered Inca people: a legacy of Pizarro and his conquistadores that the Crown was determined to eradicate. Even the lowliest Spanish immigrant was able to rent Indians for his personal service from an encomendero, and they were treated little better than slaves. In several of the pen-and-ink sketches he made for his chronicle, the Indian Poma de Ayala depicted the poorer Spaniards carried on the backs of their Indian servants, and the encomenderos on throne chairs, as had been the custom of the Inca emperors. Though responsible for the appalling treatment of the Indians by authorising their bondage, the Spanish Crown had always envisaged that their welfare would have been supervised by the missionary Orders in charge of their conversion.

Very little is known of the Church's early role in the Conquest, principally because it was not politic for any chronicler openly to criticise its missionaries, and because most of the history of its evangelisation was written by its members. Like all institutions, among its sinners were also its saints, principally the Dominicans Bartolomé de las Casas and Domingo de

Santo Tomás, a future bishop of La Plata and author of a dictionary of quéchuá published at Valladolid in 1560, who had represented the rights of the Indian caciques at court in their failed attempt to purchase their freedom. During the years of conquest the Council of the Indies had been kept informed of the state of Indian affairs. Several testimonies are to be found in the Archives of the Indies of Indians protesting to their local missionaries at their maltreatment at the hands of their encomenderos. One such appeal was presented to Bishop Valverde in Cuzco by an Indian who had taken the name of Juan de Vegines, and whom he later ordered to be freed from his bondage, 'who complained to his Grace of the treatment he had received from his master the encomendero Alonso de Luque, who whipped him repeatedly and kept him tied by a chain, and gave him little to eat ...'.¹⁷ There was little in fact Valverde or the few missionaries who opposed such treatment could do, other than to appeal to the Crown.

It was in this atmosphere of reform, purveyed in the Spanish court and in the Council of the Indies, that the licentiate, a native of León and knight of Santiago, had been ordered to Peru with a mandate not only to implement changes to the existing laws governing Indian welfare, but to drastically curtail the power of the encomenderos. Sooner rather than later, however, the implications of his mandate became apparent to the victorious encomenderos of Chupas when he refused to award them any further land grants of Indians, an act which they viewed as a direct threat to the feudal privileges they had won by the sword. Moreover, his corrupt nature was to manifest itself in the various awards he made to merchants, from whom it was later claimed that he had received bribes, and to the religious Orders. In a letter to the Spanish court Martel Santoyo stated: 'All the monasteries of the Dominicans and Mercederians hold encomiendas. Not one of them has doctrined or converted one single Indian. They attempt to extract from them [their encomiendas] what they can, working them to the utmost; with this and their collections of charity they enrich themselves. A bad example. It would be better that those who come are diligent in their morals and doctrines.'¹⁸

Irrespective of his own moral failings, and ignoring the more overt abuse of the encomienda Indians which he had been charged to eradicate, Vaca de Castro would nevertheless be responsible for alleviating the poverty into which the Inca royal family had fallen, and which had been specifically

condemned by the Council of the Indies. Several years earlier Bishop Valverde, referring to the poverty and degradation of the women of Inca nobility, many of whom had been forced into prostitution by their plight, wrote to the emperor: 'Your Majesty has the obligation to grant them the means to eat, for they wander this city [Cuzco] abandoned, which is a great shame to witness: and what I feel is that the women, after being instructed, will become Christians, for there will be no lack of men who would wish to marry them if Your Majesty were to reward them ...'¹⁹ Another letter, written by the priest Luis de Morales in 1540, records: 'There are many who have nothing to eat and who die of hunger, and who, from house to house, beg for food in the name of God and of his Holy Mother.'²⁰

It was a degradation from which only the Inca Prince Paullu would be immune, whom Pizarro shortly before the Vilcabamba campaign had awarded one of the largest encomiendas in Cuzco, including Mansio Serra de Leguizamón's rich fiefdom of Catanga and Callanga. Then aged twenty-four, Paullu was a year older than his half-brother Manco. Exempt from sharing the tribute required of their former subject tribes, the Inca lords of Cuzco by now represented an almost pathetic spectacle in the ceremonies held by Paullu in the palace of Colcampata, which Almagro had gifted him. His treatment by the city's encomenderos was little better than that of his relatives: 'Paullu Inca, lord and natural brother of Atahualpa, sons of Huayna Cápac, is a man of little caution unlike the Spaniards, and each day they cheat him, and take from him what he owns, either by force or deception, obliging him to sign documents and papers he can neither read nor understand ... and Your Majesty should see he be not maltreated, so that such maltreatment be not witnessed by his caciques who visit him to render him homage.'²¹

Paullu appealed to the Crown for justice, informing the Council of the Indies of his wish to become a Christian and relating his past service in a testimonial he made at Cuzco. The Council not only upheld his title to an encomienda, but prohibited any Spaniard from entering his palace at Cuzco without his permission. The royal decree was also to award him a coat-of-arms and the rank of hidalgo – an honour that would later influence his adoption of Spanish court dress, though he would never learn to speak Castilian.

In 1543, at a ceremony in the principal church of Cuzco, imitating the pomp and ritual of the Castilian court, the licentiate presided at his baptism. Paullu, for whom Vaca de Castro stood as godfather, was given the name and title of Don Cristóbal. It was an occasion, however, that would be marred by his gift to the Spanish governor of the mummy of his father the Emperor Huayna Cápac and which, to the consternation of the Inca royal family, the licentiate later exhibited privately in one of the city's mansions, charging the Indians of Cuzco for the privilege of viewing it. Only the intervention of the Dominican Tomás de San Martín, who threatened to excommunicate him, led the licentiate to order the mummy's removal, though he refused to surrender the gold he had obtained.²²

Another of the Crown's recommendations to Vaca de Castro had been to obtain a record of Inca history. From a series of interviews conducted at Quito and Cuzco with the quipucamayoc, the official readers of the quipu records, a report was compiled of the Inca dynasties and of their history, most of which has been lost. The testimonies of the quipucamayoc at Cuzco were gathered by Pedro de Escalante, an Indian interpreter, and by the encomendero Francisco de Villacastín, whom Garcilaso de la Vega recorded as missing two front teeth, the result of a stone having been thrown at him by a monkey. Villacastín was accompanied by the clerk and future chronicler the Spaniard Juan Diéz de Betanzos, who made a living as an interpreter. Much of the surviving evidence given by the four quipucamayoc interviewed at Cuzco was influenced by their dependence on the Inca Paullu, whose intention to discredit any rival claims to his leadership is more than evident in his pretence to have been the only legitimate heir to the Inca throne, and by his stating – quite falsely – that the other members of his family had 'already received enough to eat from the guardians of this realm'.²³

Equally important to the reforms the Crown wished to implement was an accord with the fugitive Emperor Manco, who was offered a rich encomienda by Vaca de Castro in exchange for his fealty. The interview of his emissaries with Manco was recorded in a letter he sent to the Spanish emperor, in which he describes the velvet brocade he sent Manco and the parrots he received from him in return. The Inca Don Martín Napiti Yupanqui recalled the failure of the mission: 'In the presence of this witness the said governor Vaca de Castro sent from this city many Indians and

orejones and other Indian servants with messages to the Inca Manco so that he would leave in peace with his people, but this he refused to do.’²⁴

Two years later Manco was dead, murdered by an Almagrist rebel whom he had given shelter at Vitcos, near Vilcabamba. He was twenty-eight years old: a sad and often ignored figure in the history and tragedy of the Conquest.

Though Vaca de Castro would prove to be the first in a long line of colonial administrators who were to regard their office as a means of enriching themselves and the coterie of relatives each brought with them to Peru, in the two years of his administration he was to oversee the greatest economic prosperity the colony had ever witnessed. This was due principally to the mining of gold and silver in the Charcas region of Bolivia, and an increase in trade with the Isthmus.

It was a period that also witnessed Pizarro’s intended expansion into the northern Argentine region of Tucumán. In a testimonial the conquistadore Alonso Rodríguez records his participation in the expedition: ‘In Cuzco the licentiate awarded the right of conquest of the lands of the Juries and of the Rio de la Plata to the captains Diego de Rojas, Felipe Gutiérrez and Nicolás de Heredia, in which Bernabé Picón, encomendero of Cuzco, accompanied them; and I among them, taking our arms, horses, mules and slaves in the discovery and conquest of those lands of some three years, and in which Diego de Rojas was killed by an arrow wound.’²⁵

The final year of Vaca de Castro’s governorship was, however, dominated by the news that reached Peru of a decree promulgated by the Crown in the city of Barcelona, known as the New Laws, which governed the treatment of the natives of the Indies. Its author in part was Bartolomé de las Casas. Though excluding from its statutes African and Moorish slaves, its purpose was the reform of the encomienda system of tributary labour and the introduction of a legal framework to protect the Indians from the abuses inflicted on them by the colonists. It prohibited their labour as slaves and granted them the right of judicial redress to the Crown. It also denied the encomenderos’ heirs the right of succession to their encomiendas. The decree, moreover, entitled the Crown to obtain the entire tribute of the encomiendas at the expense of their encomenderos, who were only to be allowed a small share of their revenues in the form of a life

pension, a move that potentially more than doubled the Crown's income. In the most contentious article of its statutes with regard to Peru, all encomenderos who had taken part in the Battle of Salinas, whether under the banner of the Crown or in the ranks of the elder Almagro's rebel army, were to forfeit their encomiendas: a ruling which not only demonstrated the Crown's censure of the elder Almagro's rebellion and of his execution without royal approval, but which in effect would have left every veteran of the Conquest ruined.

It was a far cry from the colony Pizarro had nurtured and for which so many of his companions had shed their blood, and in which his name by now was seldom spoken by the newly appointed Viceroy and his officials as their galleons slipped out of Seville's port of San Lúcar de Barrameda.

NINE

The Most Magnificent Lord Gonzalo

He was well built and tall, and with a good presence about him, dark and with a long full black beard.

Pedro de Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Las Guerras Civiles del Perú

On 10 January 1544, the official chosen to introduce the Native reforms to the colony, known as the New Laws, arrived in the Isthmus of Panama. Don Blasco Núñez Vela, Knight of Santiago and a former inspector of Castile's garrison, appointed by the Crown as the first viceroy of Peru, was accompanied by four judges and a large retinue of his relatives and clerical administrators. Among the family friends whom he had brought with him from his native city of Ávila were five brothers of St Teresa of Ávila, one of whom, Antonio de Cepeda y Ahumada, would settle in Quito. Also accompanying the judges commissioned to establish the colony's Audiencia (Royal Chancery Court of Justice) was a thirty-year-old accountant and future historian, Agustín de Zárate, employed by the Council of the Indies to make an inventory of the Crown's revenue and treasury in the colony.

An elderly and fastidious man, who at times appeared almost comical in the pomp and ritual he demanded from his attendants, from the very outset of his journey across the Isthmus from the Atlantic port of Nombre de Dios to its Pacific capital at Panama, the Viceroy had proceeded to antagonise almost every colonist he met in the mosquito- and swamp-ridden plantations he visited, apprising them of his reforms and insisting on the most rigid protocol in both dress and ceremonial. He even deprived his encomendero hosts, in whose houses he and his large retinue stayed, of their Indian servants and African slaves as part of the proposed reforms to abolish unpaid Indian labour, and which within a year would have virtually destroyed the Isthmus's entire economy, based as it was on slavery and the free plantation labour of its encomiendas. By the time his entourage had reached the Peruvian mainland in Ecuador, the news of his reforms had not

only preceded him but had raised an outcry in almost every sector of the colony, from poor and rich alike, each of whom depended entirely for their livelihood on Indian labour.

However naïve the intention, Spain's proposed colonial reform was far in advance of its time in terms of innovation and liberalism, and was something no other European power would even envisage for its colonies for several centuries to come. Its calamitous consequences, not only for the colonists but for the Crown itself, were due almost entirely to the cantankerous and dictatorial attitude of the Viceroy, who denied any form of concession or arbitration. Neither did his state entry into Lima bode well for his reputation nor recommend him to its encomendero oligarchy, whose vast wealth and social pretensions he openly ridiculed, describing those of them who claimed hidalgo rank to have been little more than 'tailors and cobblers'.¹

Peru's Governor, Vaca de Castro, who had been replaced by the Viceroy, had voiced his misgivings concerning the reforms, but his opinion had counted for little. Not even the sight of Lima's Spanish women, hurling abuse and banging their saucepans outside his palace, had made the slightest impression on the Viceroy. Within weeks he ordered the arrest of Vaca de Castro on a charge of sedition and corruption, and had him imprisoned on one of the small galleons in Lima's port. Shortly afterwards Pizarro's young daughter Doña Francisca was also imprisoned on the same vessel. Paranoia and a growing fear of being murdered led to a number of bizarre confrontations between the colony's new ruler and his four judges of his Audiencia, culminating in the arrest of the Crown official Illán Suárez, whose loyalty he had also questioned, and whom in a heated argument he knifed to death with his dagger: an event of both comic and tragic proportions.

It was a crime which even in a city that had witnessed so much bloodshed in its few years both stunned and horrified its inhabitants, not only because of its cowardice but also because it had been carried out by the Viceroy himself. Imprisoned by his own soldiers and judges, he was eventually allowed to leave for Spain. Disembarking on the equatorial coast he however made his way inland to Quito, where over the coming months he raised an army in defence of what remained of his governorship.

The fate of the licentiate Vaca de Castro would be no less ignominious. Freed from captivity, he returned to Spain and faced trial on charges of embezzlement and of appropriating funds from the sale of encomiendas – charges he would vehemently deny, pleading poverty and penury which his correspondence with his wife in Spain during the years of his governorship did little to substantiate: ‘all I have sent you and will also send you, you must treat with great secrecy, even among the servants, for the less the king knows, the more reward he will show me ... and not a straw must be purchased in my name, so that it is known that neither you nor I possess a single marevidí.’²

For over a year he was imprisoned at the royal fortress of Simancas, and then lived under house arrest in the township of Pinto, south of Madrid, before being exonerated of all charges. This was far removed from the anarchy and rebellion that had taken hold of the colony he had left behind, and of a governorship to which his heirs, among them his son Don Pedro Vaca de Castro, the future Archbishop of Seville, would owe their fortune.

Shortly before the flight of the Viceroy Núñez Vela from Lima, an elderly and portly hooded figure could be seen slowly making his way on muleback across the arid landscape of the Cuntisuyo towards Cuzco. Francisco López Gascón, a native of the Basque fishing port of St Jean de Luz, who as a young man had studied for the priesthood in Castile and adopted the name of his former patron Cardinal Bernardino de Carbajal, had been on the point of returning to the Isthmus, and had been unable to find a ship at Arequipa.³ Several years previously he had arrived in the colony from Mexico accompanied by a Portuguese woman, owning, as he was fond of boasting, ‘only the few coins he had owed a tavern in Seville’.⁴ Highly regarded for his military skills, having served in the Italian wars at Ravenna and Pavia, in Peru he had commanded Vaca de Castro’s infantry at the Battle of Chupas. Exhausted by his long journey, he entered Cuzco with little more than what he possessed in his baggage and a reputation for brutality that would within the year pervade Peru.

The object of the elderly soldier’s journey was to answer the summons he had received from Pizarro’s youngest brother Gonzalo, who at the head of an armed company from Charcas had two months before proclaimed himself, at Cuzco, Procurator General of Peru and the representative of the

colony's encomenderos in their protest against the New Laws. Ever since he had returned to Quito barefoot and in rags a few years previously, after his disastrous expedition to the Amazon, and where he had learnt of his brother's murder, Gonzalo had witnessed the gradual dismemberment of his family's influence. The principal instigator of this loss of power was the Castilian Vaca de Castro, who had little sympathy for the Extremaduran clique of Pizarro's supporters who for a decade had controlled most of the colony's offices and disposal of encomienda awards. Deprived of his governorship of Quito which his brother had awarded him, Gonzalo had been forced to retire to his encomiendas in the Charcas, and had even considered returning to Spain; a plan from which his brother Hernando, who had already begun his lengthy imprisonment in the castle of La Mota at Medina del Campo for his part in Almagro's killing, dissuaded him so that he could look after their family's interests in the colony.

At the time Gonzalo was probably thirty years old.⁵ Neither greatly intelligent nor particularly articulate, nor able to read or write, he was, however, a handsome man prone to dress in either a simple soldier's garb or, on special occasions, in all the finery of an Elizabethan grandee, bejewelled with earrings, velvet and silk, his coat armour and helmet decorated in gold and studded with emeralds. Renowned for his promiscuity, he took as partners both Indian and Spanish women. He was physically strong and quite fearless, as he demonstrated in his expedition to the Amazon. Agustín de Zárate, who had known him, wrote that he was also 'a fine horseman and musketeer, and though of little culture he spoke well, though very coarsely'.⁶ His popularity as Pizarro's political heir was unrivalled by any other conquistadore. Ambitious and exalted by his sense of self-importance, his rebellion would sooner or later have manifested itself irrespective of the flattery of his followers or of the dire threat posed to his fellow encomenderos by the Crown's censure and reforms. It was a confrontation that was inevitable, and which would determine the future ruler of the colony – conquistadore or Crown official.

What had started as a protest against the Crown's reforms would soon develop into an open rebellion, and Gonzalo, however much he feigned his unwillingness to lead, would command it with the same determination and authority as his dead brother, though with neither his caution nor his skill. His one goal was the revival of his family's power and what he believed

was their right to govern the land they had conquered by the sword. It would be a recurring theme in all his dealings and negotiations with the Crown.

The genie who would make such a goal possible was the elderly Carbajal, who stood bareheaded before him in his tent in the Cuzco valley of Jaquijahuana, where Gonzalo had assembled his army of encomenderos, and swore his undying allegiance to him. The chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, who left the most detailed and authoritative account of Gonzalo's rebellion, recorded that Carbajal was eighty years old at the time, and though lame in one leg was one of the most physically strong of all the rebel captains, as his subsequent campaigns on horseback back and forth across the Andes attest. Zárate, who was nearly hanged by Carbajal because he suspected him of keeping a record of the events of the time, also confirms his age and describes him as of 'medium height, thickset and of a ruddy complexion'.⁷ It was a partnership that would transform the colony in all but name into an independent sovereign state, and bring with it in equal measure economic prosperity and a barbarity the like of which its Native people had never before witnessed among their conquerors.

Gonzalo's rebellion was nevertheless initially opposed by a small and clandestine group of Cuzco's encomenderos, although they were equally hostile to the proposed reforms. Some twenty of the city's most influential encomenderos, including Pedro del Barco, Gabriel de Rojas, Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and the historian Garcilaso de la Vega's father, fled at night from his encampment to Arequipa's port of Mollendo where they had hoped to find a ship that would take them to Lima; they arrived only to discover that the commanders and crews of its few remaining vessels, alarmed by the news of the impending uprising, had weighed anchor, leaving them no option but to disperse. Most of them made the long and arduous journey along the coast, where on their arrival at Lima they were met with the sight of the newly installed bells of its churches and monasteries being removed on the Viceroy's orders to be used for the smelting of grapeshot.

Though their flight had initially caused many conquistadores assembled in the rebel encampment to waver in their allegiance, the future course of events was decided by the rank and file of Cuzco's landless colonists. It was they who would form the backbone of the rebel army: merchants, artisans and former conscripts of the Almagrist wars, together with various

members of the religious Orders whose communities would also be stripped of their encomiendas by the reforms. One friar declared publicly that if the decrees of the New Laws were carried out 'they will leave my sisters and nieces with no future but the whorehouse'.⁸ It was a following that owed as much to the charismatic personality of their *caudillo* as to the fears they shared with the veteran conquistadores of losing their livelihood.

Gonzalo had also received the support of the Inca Prince Paullu, who agreed to supply him with 20,000 Indian porters for his army, 12,000 of whom would act as handlers of his cannon. The rebel army commanded by Carbajal finally began its long and difficult march north across the cordillera towards Lima. However, only on reaching the central Andes did Gonzalo learn of the arrest of the Viceroy by the judges of Lima, and of his departure from the capital. He was also informed of how his brother's palace, which had become the viceregal residence, had been looted by the city's soldiers, and that Lima was virtually in a state of anarchy and in the hands of its judges: the Castilian Diego Vásquez de Cepeda, the elderly Pedro Ortiz de Zárate and the Riojano Pablo Lisón de Tejada. The fourth judge, Juan Alvarez, who had accompanied his colleagues from Seville almost a year previously, had the responsibility of taking the imprisoned Viceroy to Spain to face trial, but at Tumbes had freed him, allowing him to make his escape to Quito and Popayán.

A sense of terror gripped Lima as further reports reached the city of Gonzalo's progress across the cordillera, bringing with him one of the largest armies ever assembled by the colonists. Poised within easy reach of the city, Francisco de Carbajal, taking with him a hundred harquebusiers, entered Lima at night and demanded a signed decree from the judges confirming Gonzalo's governorship of the colony. The following morning Carbajal led three of Cuzco's fugitive encomenderos, naked and on donkeys, to the outskirts of the city where he hanged them from a tree, selecting the highest branch for the conquistadore Pedro del Barco because of his hidalgo rank, something which greatly amused him.

The naked and blood-stained figure of the elderly Extremaduran conquistadore, a veteran of the conquest of Nicaragua and who at Vilcabamba had saved Gonzalo's life, would be the first sight the rebel army would have of the city. An eyewitness recorded their entry into Lima:

First entered the Captain Hernando Bachicao with 24 cannon, and which was pulled by over 4,000 Indians, and who also carried its munitions and other pieces of smaller artillery, such as muskets which his men fired when reaching the corners of each street, and which greatly frightened the populace. He brought with him some 50 harquebusiers as his personal guard, and a further 50 artillerymen, who also took part in the firing of the weapons, which caused deafening noise.

Then entered the Captain Diego de Gumiel, wearing a steel breastplate and a coat of chain mail, trailing his pike on the ground and holding it by its naked blade, and who was followed by 200 of his pikemen, their weapons sloped over their shoulders and dressed in chain mail. He was followed by the Captain Juan Vélez de Guevara with 150 harquebusiers, some of whom were in chain mail and others in very rich clothing. Behind this captain came the company of Pedro Cermeño, who wore a wild expression on his face, casting his eyes from side to side as if wishing to shoot someone, and who brought with him 180 harquebusiers.

Once the infantry had reached the main square it was the turn of the cavalry to make their entry, at the head of which rode Gonzalo Pizarro, fully armed and wearing a hat made of very fine silk with a long plume of different colours attached to a gold pendant and large emerald. He was wearing chain mail and a velvet and crimson tabard embroidered in gold thread, and on his belt a gold-handled sword. He rode a large and powerful Spanish roan called Villano. Hanging from his horse's side was a broad sword. The stirrups, harness and his horse's head visor were of silver. Behind him walked a page carrying his lance and his helmet, its visor open, its helm adorned with many plumes of different colours, its bars were of gold, and its helmet wreath studded with emeralds.

Behind Gonzalo Pizarro rode three of his captains and their standard bearers at the head of all the cavalry, riding in columns twelve abreast because of the width of the streets. At their front were Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Don Baltazar de Castilla and Pedro de Puelles, who carried the royal standard bearing the arms of His Majesty, quartered on either side in blue damask. To their right rode Antonio Altamarino with his banner displaying on one side the city of Cuzco and on the other the Lord Santiago, mounted on a white horse and sword in hand. To their left was held another banner, bearing the arms of the Pizarros, and, if I remember correctly, with the motto: *For arms, these I won in virtue of he*

who gave them to me. On the other side of the banner was the figure of a man in armour, who on his breast wore the letters *GP*, for Gonzalo Pizarro. Following these captains was the entire cavalry of 650 horse, all well armed in chain mail and on fine mounts ... till all finally entered the great square.⁹

The Indian handlers had positioned their cannon facing the city's principal buildings, the infantry and cavalry forming their squadrons alongside, supported by harquebusiers. Flanked by Carbajal on his mule, Gonzalo was acclaimed *Caudillo* of Peru. One by one, the bishops of Lima, Quito and Cuzco acknowledged his authority, followed by the judges and Crown officials and the Mayor of Lima, Nicolás de Ribera, his brother's oldest companion-in-arms. On the morning of 28 October 1544, the colony of New Castile severed its allegiance to its Viceroy, and in all but name to Spain: the first such action of any American colony.

It was not long before a new order was established in the city, the laws and administration of which were centred on Pizarro's former palace where Gonzalo had made his headquarters. No one dared question the validity of his rule in the emperor's name, and the handful of encomenderos who had fled from Cuzco had either sought his pardon or remained in hiding, such as Garcilaso de la Vega, who for four months lay hidden in the hollowed altar of the city's monastery of Santo Domingo.

With access to the city's treasury and the Crown's revenues, Gonzalo was not only able to pay his troops, but to organise the administration of his government, appointing his closest friends and associates to govern its principal cities: Alonso de Toro at Cuzco, Francisco de Almendras at La Plata, Pedro de Fuentes and Lucas Martínez Vegazo at Arequipa. The appointments were popular and welcomed even by the clergy, who opted for the stability of the new regime many of them, including its four bishops, believed would eventually receive the Crown's sanction in the light of the Viceroy's enforced exile and flight. It was a premise, however, that was more fanciful than realistic, and which would have set a precedent throughout Spain's colonies that would have been unacceptable to the emperor, who was himself then faced with the rebellions of his Lutheran subjects in Germany. Neither would the reprisals ordered by Gonzalo's new

governors against loyalists have been seen by the Crown as anything other than seditious and criminal, which in fact many of them were.

Alonso de Toro, one of the more sadistic of Gonzalo's captains, who is recorded as having abused the elderly Almagro at his execution, quashed any further semblance of rebellion in Cuzco, which had briefly risen under the rich encomendero Diego Maldonado. Maldonado and his fellow conquistadore Alonso de Mesa had been arrested by the quéchua interpreter Francisco de Villacastín, who retook control of the city in Gonzalo's name. Mesa was set on the rack and horribly tortured, his arms maimed for the rest of his life. Both prisoners were then ordered to Lima where they pleaded for their lives before Gonzalo. It was a scene that would be repeated for a number of the proud veterans of Cajamarca suspected of disloyalty; brave men now forced to grovel before Pizarro's brother, humiliating themselves in exchange for their lives, addressing him as their 'Most Magnificent Lord'.

Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, who had been one of the encomenderos who had fled from Gonzalo's encampment at Jaquijahuana, was himself captured in the Cuntisuyo and brought in chains to Cuzco, where Toro ordered his torture. 'At the time I was in the city of Cuzco,' recalled his fellow conquistadore Luis Sánchez, 'and I witnessed Alonso de Toro, lieutenant-governor of Gonzalo Pizarro, take Mansio Serra and do him great injury, and it was believed he would kill him for being his enemy.'¹⁰ He was to languish in irons in Cuzco's jail for several months till he also finally obtained a pardon from Gonzalo.

It was, however, the northern region of the colony that had supported the Viceroy, and also the Isthmus which still remained in loyalist hands, which represented the last threat to Gonzalo. The governorship of Chile under Pedro de Valdivia was too remote and distant to cause him any worry. Three brigantines under the command of Hernando de Bachicao were sent to confront the small armada of loyalist ships that had fled from Lima to the northern coast and to Panama.

In a voyage worthy of any Caribbean buccaneer, the megalomaniac Bachicao, who insisted on being addressed by his mariners as 'Count' and 'Admiral of the southern seas', proceeded to sack every port on his way to Panama, capturing ship after ship. Entering the Isthmus's Pacific port under cover of night he surprised its garrison and took possession of its entire

fleet, comprising in all twenty-eight ships, galleons, brigantines and skiffs. The plunder lasted for weeks and secured for Gonzalo not only Panama but the Atlantic port of Nombre de Dios, sealing the only passage to Spain.

Within five months of Lima's seizure, Gonzalo's rebel army once more continued its march towards the northern equatorial coast in a campaign that would last for almost a year. On the outskirts of Quito at the mountain valley of Añaquito, accompanied by the conquistadore Sebastián de Belalcázar and all the principal encomenderos of Ecuador and Popayán whom he had recruited to his banner, the elderly Viceroy Núñez Vela made his final stand. Outnumbered and outmanoeuvred, his cavalry of some one hundred and forty men were slaughtered by Gonzalo's better trained and more experienced lancers. Among the loyalist dead was the cavalry captain Antonio de Cepeda y Ahumada, St Teresa of Ávila's brother. The Viceroy, who had been in the thick of the fighting, and though fatally wounded, was decapitated by one of the African slaves of Benito Suárez, the brother of the factor he had knifed to death in Lima, an act which brought about such a shameful and tragic end to his own life. Stripped of its clothing, his corpse was left among the dead of the battlefield, his blood-stained head carried in a basket strapped to Suárez's horse, shaven of its beard and moustache which would be worn by Gonzalo's captains to decorate their helmets on their triumphal entry into Quito.

Belalcázar, who had remained loyal to the Viceroy however much he had disliked him and disagreed with his reforms, was taken prisoner but later freed by Gonzalo, and allowed to return to his governorship of Popayán. Gonzalo's victory at Añaquito and his appointment of his fellow Extremaduran Pedro de Hinojosa as his governor of the isthmus and commander of the Pacific fleet would secure his dictatorship for almost four years. The only opposition he would meet had arisen some time before the battle in the city of La Plata with the murder of his governor Almendras at the hands of the encomendero Diego de Centeno, who had raised the royal banner.

Francisco de Carbajal was ordered to put down the insurrection. Entering Lima with only twelve horsemen, within days he had equipped a force of some two hundred colonists, each aware of the reputation of the elderly soldier, renowned not only for his brutality but for his caustic wit. On one occasion Carbajal, coming across a new recruit he had sarcastically addressed as 'Your Grace', asked the man his name, and being told that it

was 'Hurtado' (stealing), had commented: 'Not worth finding, let alone stealing.'¹¹ On taking prisoner a loyalist encomendero, who pretended not to know why he was to be hanged, he had said to him: 'I perceive you wish to establish a pedigree for your martyrdom, so that you can point to it as an heirloom for your descendants? So be it, and now, adíos.'¹² After hanging four other prisoners, raising his eyes to heaven, he quipped: 'Let us pray to God with all our hearts he be content with these few crumbs we offer him.'¹³ His bizarre appearance only added to a reputation of sadism and cruelty which would earn him the name 'The Devil of the Andes':

instead of a cloak he always wore a purple Moorish burnoose with a hood ... and on his head a hat of black taffeta with a plain silk band adorned with black and white chicken feathers. This ornament he told his soldiers he wore to set an example to them, for one of the things he most exhorted them to do was to wear such apparel on their helmets, for he claimed it was the mark of a true soldier and would distinguish him from the frivolity of the plumes worn by an encomendero.¹⁴

His cruelty was legendary. At Quito before his departure south he had suspected Diego Maldonado of once more betraying Gonzalo by distributing a letter vilifying him. 'And though Diego Maldonado denied any knowledge of such a letter, he ordered him stripped naked and placed on a donkey ... and which was a pitiful sight, being as he was an old man and very thin boned, and without any complexion ... and he cried out many times "Lord God! By Your Passion and in the name of the Mother of God! Do not torture me! Let me die here on this donkey! Cut my head off! but do not torture me!" ... and then [Carbajal] commanded he be tortured by putting water in his mouth and nose.'¹⁵

For several months Carbajal pursued Diego de Centeno's loyalist forces across southern Peru and the Bolivian highlands, from La Plata to Cuzco, and across to Arequipa, never once however being able to capture his quarry. Whether sleeping in abandoned churches in the pampa, or in tents among the hardened cavalry units he had recruited and trained, the old soldier was relentless in his attrition of the few remaining loyalists who had evaded his summary executions. Amassing a vast amount of wealth from the newly discovered mines at Potosí and Charcas, and the mansions and haciendas he freely looted, Carbajal brought a reign of terror across the

Andes which would be remembered for years to come. Most, if not all, of the leading encomenderos who were not in Gonzalo's northern army served under his black banner, emblazoned with a red saltire.

No single colonist he suspected of disloyalty to Gonzalo was free of his brutality. At Charcas he had ordered the killing of the conquistadores Nicolás de Heredia and Lope de Mendoza, who had returned from their expedition of discovery of northern Argentina, sending their bloodied heads in saddlebags to Arequipa, where he ordered they be placed in its central square as a warning to any dissenters.

Diego de Centeno, who was one of the principal owners of the newly discovered mine of the Cerro Rico at Potosí, was soon left virtually abandoned by his small company of men, too frightened and too exhausted to continue fleeing from their stubborn pursuer, and for almost a year he remained hidden in a cave accompanied by one of his Indian caciques. It was the last rebellion Gonzalo had to face before his victorious return to Lima, which his army entered, trailing on the ground the bloody and dirt-trodden standards of its former viceroy. The entire land was at his feet. At his court minstrels sang and he dined publicly, his captains acting as cup-bearers and chamberlains.

His naïve belief, however, that the governorship he had won by force of arms he could eventually retain as a servant of the Crown was not shared by Carbajal, who was well aware of the fate of Gonzalo's brother Hernando, who was still languishing in prison in Spain for ordering Almagro's execution:

My lord, when a viceroy is killed in a pitched battle and his head is struck off and placed on a gibbet, and the battle was against the royal standard, and where there have been as many deaths and as much looting, there is no pardon to be hoped for, and no compromise to be made; even though your lordship makes ample excuses and proves himself more innocent than a suckling babe. Nor can you trust in words or promises, nor whatever assurances be given you, unless, that is, you declare yourself king; and seize the government yourself without waiting for another to offer it to you, and place the crown on your head: allocating whatever land is unoccupied among your friends and adherents; creating them dukes and marquises and counts, such as there are in all the countries of the world, so that they will defend your lordship in order to

defend their own estates; ... and pay no heed if it is said that you are a traitor to the king of Spain: you are not, for as the saying goes, no king is a traitor ... I beg your lordship to consider carefully my words, and of what I have said about ruling the empire in perpetuity, so that all those who live here will follow you. Finally, I urge you again to crown yourself king ... die a king. I repeat, and not a vassal ... for whosoever accepts servitude can merit no better.¹⁶

At the time none of the rebel encomenderos and conquistadores envisaged that the Crown had either the means or the will to send an armada and army into battle halfway across the world to reassert its authority. Nor did they believe that the Crown would be able successfully to mobilise reinforcements for such an operation from its settlements in Mexico and Guatemala without the support of the rebel-held Isthmus and of its Pacific fleet. Nor did it seem plausible that such a task force, unfamiliar with the equatorial and Andean terrain, would have survived a campaign against an army equally well armed and supplied with munitions and gunpowder manufactured in the colony. Moreover, they were aware that their appropriation of almost two years' of the Crown's revenue of silver bullion had left Spain's already precarious financial resources in no position to pay for an armada. It had also taken almost a year for the news of the rebellion to reach Spain; there the Council of Castile, devoid of military and financial resources, was forced to seek a negotiated settlement.

Towards the end of the year 1546, a small and frail bearded priest was to arrive in the Atlantic port of Nombre de Dios. A former official of the Inquisition, he had been responsible for the defence of Valencia against the corsairs of the Turkish admiral Barbarossa, who had ravaged the Balearic islands of Mallorca and Menorca, and in his role as a Crown official had successfully suppressed the threat of insurrection by the city's Morisco population. The arrival of Don Pedro de la Gasca had been of little significance to the rebel commander of the port in which his small squadron of caravels had berthed. Nor had the news of his appointment by the Crown as administrator of Peru, with the title of president of the Audiencia of Lima, caused any alarm to the rebel governor of Panama, Pedro de Hinojosa. Forwarding a letter from the Emperor Charles V, who had been in Germany at the time the news of the rebellion had been received in Spain,

Gasca wrote to Gonzalo informing him also of the decision of the Council of the Indies to repeal the New Laws, and offering him and his supporters a full pardon: pledges that were at first met with polite silence, and later with evasion by Gonzalo.

Faced with the humiliation of his virtual isolation, and unable to communicate with any of the encomenderos of Peru without the help of Hinojosa's fleet, over the weeks Gasca kept up a continuous barrage of correspondence with the rebel leaders of the Isthmus, varying from appeals to their loyalty to threats and simple bribery. It was a campaign the middle-aged priest waged from his writing desk in the quarters he had been given in the port, and which would within time bring about the defection of Hinojosa whom he promised to award one of the richest encomiendas in Peru. The defection secured for Gasca not only the Isthmus, but the surrender of the Pacific fleet. It also enabled him for the first time to communicate with the rebel encomenderos.

In the coming months, with the same quiet determination he had used to secure the allegiance of Panama's rebels, he levied an army of invasion, not only from the Isthmus but also from the Caribbean islands. Its ultimate success, however, he knew depended on his ability to appeal to the feudal loyalty of Peru's encomenderos as much as to their purses, promising them future awards of Indians and guaranteeing them their lands. What followed was an endless and secret correspondence, smuggled by his caravels into Peru. Carbajal, who had executed a number of encomenderos for being found in possession of Gasca's correspondence, himself wrote to the priest:

With what genius does a chaplain, of the intelligence some say you to possess, involve himself in an enterprise not even the king with all his forces is able to suppress, nor is capable of, if not by your worthless decrees and letters filled with lies? What you may consider is that the inducements which made the traitors surrender to you the fleet, selling their lord for money, as did Judas, was only so that they could themselves become lords, and you, their chaplain ... and let us hope that your sins will in time bring you safely into my hands.¹⁷

The effect of Gasca's correspondence soon became evident in risings at Puerto Viejo on the equatorial coast, at Trujillo and Chachapoyas, in the central Andes. In May 1547, Diego de Centeno, who had been in hiding in

the Cuntisuyo, also raised the royal standard, and with the support of loyalists from Charcas captured Cuzco. Almost at the same time the city of Arequipa declared for the Crown, imprisoning its rebel governor the conquistadore Lucas Martínez Vegazo who was brought to Cuzco. Another prominent desertion was made by Diego Maldonado, fleeing from Lima and managing to swim out of its harbour to one of the galleons of the Pacific fleet moored out at sea. Lorenzo de Aldana, one of Gonzalo's principal captains who in the Isthmus had also deserted, and was on board the galleon, recalled the event: 'I saw a man far out at sea, waving his arms as he hung on to a small canoe, and which he paddled with his legs, and between his teeth I could see he was clutching a sword; and in this manner he approached the galleon ... he was an elderly man and was still wearing his chain mail which weighed heavily ... and we sent a boat out for him with some sailors and rescued him.'¹⁸

Aware by now of what was amounting to a mass desertion, and of the landing at Túmbez of Gasca's armada of eighteen vessels, carrying 820 men, Gonzalo evacuated Lima. Carbajal was ordered to join him at Arequipa with his squadrons of horse and infantry, which had been securing silver from the Charcas. With his combined force now reduced to under five hundred men, Gonzalo began his retreat towards the Bolivian altiplano with the intention of crossing the southern Andes to the settlement at Santiago, in Chile. It was a decision Carbajal vehemently opposed, believing that only victory on the field would save the rebellion. Gonzalo's retreat was to lead to the desertion of a further number of encomenderos. Informed of the retreat of the rebel army, Centeno, who had been reinforced by a large contingent of men from the Charcas and the Collasuyo, positioned his troops, of some 460 horse and 540 infantry, near the southern shore of Lake Titicaca, cutting off Gonzalo's retreat south.

At first light of the morning of 20 October 1547, the two armies faced each other on the plains of Huarina. Amid the bleak and windswept landscape of the Andean plateau, the loyalist infantry slowly advanced towards the rebel positions. At a distance of some hundred paces Carbajal's arquebusiers opened fire, refiring for a second and third time with the spare muskets he had ordered them to load beforehand. Positioning his outnumbered pikemen in square formations, time and again he resisted the overwhelming superiority of Centeno's cavalry, and by advancing his arquebusiers he was finally able to break the loyalist positions, horses and

men fleeing for their lives. Of Centeno's men, 350 lay dead. The chronicler Diego Fernández claimed that Carbajal, accompanied by two of his African slaves, toured the battlefield, clubbing to death the loyalist wounded. The news of the defeat of Centeno, who had been suffering from pleurisy and had watched the battle from his litter, and who had managed to make his escape with a small company of horse, was to reach Cuzco with the arrival of the armoured figure of its bishop Juan Solano, whose brother had been killed by Carbajal.

Only some weeks after the battle did Gonzalo make his entry into Cuzco, where he received the rapturous acclaim of the very settlers who had prepared his gallows in expectation of his defeat, and from whose wooden poles now hung the corpses of the city's mayor and one of its aldermen. For days the rebel soldiers pillaged the mansions of Cuzco's defectors in an orgy of retribution, raping with abandon the city's women, Spaniard and Indian alike.

By the end of December, Gasca's army of invasion reached the city of Jauja, reinforced by many former rebel encomenderos.

More than 1,500 men [Spaniards, and not counting several thousand of their encomendero warriors] were gathered in the valley of Jauja. The president [Gasca] was most assiduous in erecting forges and collecting smiths to make new harquebuses and repair old ones, also to make lances and all types of arms ... while he was there news reached him of Diego de Centeno's defeat, which grieved him deeply. In public, however, he put on a most courageous pretence of taking it lightly. The general expectation of his captains had been completely contradicted by events. He had frequently been advised not to raise an army since Diego de Centeno's alone would be enough to defeat Gonzalo Pizarro ... he then sent the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado to Lima to bring more men and cannon from the fleet, also clothing and money to pay the soldiers ... at his encampment the president had with him the Archbishop of Lima and the bishops of Cuzco and Quito, the Provincial of the Dominicans, Fray Tomás de San Martín, and the Provincial of the Mercedarians, also many other friars and priests. In his final review of his troops he was able to count on 700 harquebuses, 500 pikemen and 400 horse.

On their march to [the valley of] Jaquijahuana they were joined by so many more men that their numbers reached 900. The army struck camp at Jauja on 29 December 1547, and advanced in good order along the Cuzco road, looking for the safest place to cross the Abancay River ...

When the president had left Jauja he was joined by the Captain Pedro de Valdivia, Governor of Chile. He had come by sea to the harbour of Lima, bringing with him his conquistadores of Chile, together with clothing and supplies ... this was most fortunate, for though he had experienced captains and soldiers in his army, none of them was as skilled in war as Pedro de Valdivia. Till then there had been no strategist equal to Francisco de Carbajal who had planned and organised so many victories for Gonzalo Pizarro, especially Diego de Centeno's defeat at Huarina, which everyone attributed to Carbajal's military skill alone. Diego de Centeno also arrived at this time with 30 or more horse, who had escaped with him from the defeat at Huarina ...

All that time there was such heavy rain, it never ceased, day or night, and all the tents rotted since it was impossible to dry them. The maize the men ate had also rotted with the rain and many of the men fell sick with dysentery ... there were more than 400 sick ... with the coming of spring and the end of the rains, the army left Andahuaylas and took up its position at the crossing of Abancay, twenty leagues from Cuzco, and it halted there until bridges could be built across the Apurímac River which is 12 leagues from Cuzco.¹⁹

Gasca's army had reached the Apurímac River and the vicinity of Cuzco in the early part of April 1548. At Cuzco, Gonzalo had made preparations to confront the loyalist army, deciding to take his heavy artillery with him, which he believed would win the day in the valley of Jaquijahuana where he had resolved to confront the enemy. Ominously, it was the same valley in which his brother Pizarro had burnt alive Atahualpa's warrior chief Chalcuchima, who before dying had cursed Pizarro and his brothers, invoking his huaca Huanacauri to avenge him. It was also the site where Gonzalo had pitched his encampment after declaring himself Procurator of Peru, and from where Cuzco's principal encomenderos had deserted him four years previously.

Carbajal had strongly advised him against seeking battle, pleading with him to evacuate Cuzco and to pick a better time and ground to confront

Gasca's army. Not only did Carbajal see the site Gonzalo had chosen as holding no advantage to their cavalry, which would be outnumbered, but he believed that they would be playing into the hands of Gasca who had made it known he was only too willing to make the valley the battlefield. Carbajal well knew that Gonzalo was prone to bouts of chivalry, and he saw this as just another such childish decision, similar to his dramatic decision before Huarina to abandon Peru and seek exile in Chile. Stubborn, and filled with the sense of his invincibility, Gonzalo ignored Carbajal's advice and ordered his army to march out of Cuzco.

With the early morning mist and cloud rising above Cuzco's mountains, more than 1,000 armed Spaniards made their way out of the city, 200 of whom were cavalry. Earlier that morning foxes had been heard howling in the surrounding fields, an omen regarded as malevolent by the several thousand Indian porters and warriors of the Inca Prince Paullu, who acted as handlers of the heavy cannon. Line upon line of men could be seen disappearing over the great Carmenca hill heading west towards the valley. It took Gonzalo's army two full days to reach Jaquijahuana.

On 9 April, dressed in shoulder armour and accompanied by four of the colony's bishops, Gasca rode out at the head of his squadrons of cavalry towards the hillock overlooking the valley. Pedro de Valdivia had positioned his artillery to one side of the hillock and began to shell the rebel tents that had been pitched overnight. A small river gully separated the loyalist positions from the main stretch of the valley. It was bitterly cold and fires had been lit by the rebel tents, which Carbajal on hearing the cannonade immediately ordered to be extinguished, and the men prepared for battle. Even Gonzalo, who had been discussing his field tactics with his captains in his own tent, had been taken by surprise and had been forced to arm himself and mount his horse, galloping towards his squadrons of pikemen that were forming up in their squares, as Carbajal had instructed them. As always, Gonzalo's presence brought cheer to his men, who saluted him with their cries of 'Gonzalo the Magnificent!' Some even called him their king.

An eyewitness recalls that he wore a breastplate and chain mail, and that his plumed helmet, on which he wore a large emerald, and visor were decorated in gold.

It was quite soon that the first defections took place from the rebel ranks of harquebusiers, the very same men whose courage and skill had defeated Centeno at Huarina. One by one, they began to run across the huge expanse of potato fields towards the loyalist columns, throwing their weapons aside. The rebel captain Pedro Martín de Cecilia galloped after them and lanced to death several men. Outriders from the loyalist army also broke into a gallop passing the rebel lines and shouting at them to surrender, but by then Gonzalo had given the order to advance his cavalry and pikemen. To the sound of beating drums the squadrons of the rebel army began their advance. It was eleven o'clock in the morning. Cannonballs began to fall on the rebel flank, and a number of men fell, wounded. Gonzalo signalled to his artillery to open fire but the cannon could be seen falling well off their targets.

The judge Cepeda, Gonzalo's general who had surrendered the city of Lima to him four years previously, was the first of the rebel captains to dig his spurs into his horse and break out across the plain, fleeing towards the loyalist ranks. He was followed by several other captains, among them the historian Garcilaso de la Vega's father. In less than ten minutes the entire front line of infantry broke into a run, throwing down their weapons, some of them shouting 'Death to the rebels!' as they joined the loyalist ranks. Gonzalo, turning to one of his captains, Juan de Acosta, said: 'I believe they are all deserting me.' To which Acosta replied: 'Now, my Lord, you shall see who truly loves you.' 'So I see,' said Gonzalo, and riding slowly forward he made his way across the plain, a lonely and resplendent figure, his yellow velvet cape pulled across his shoulders, and his gilded coat armour and plumed helmet reflecting the rays of the morning sun.²⁰ He was met in mid-field by Diego de Villavicencio, a native of Jerez de la Frontera, to whom he handed his sword with the words: 'I am the sad and unfortunate Gonzalo Pizarro, who has come to surrender to His Majesty.'²¹

Francisco de Carbajal, who had been indignant at the manner in which the battle had been conducted by Gonzalo and Cepeda, had watched with mounting anger the gradual desertion of his harquebusiers and pikemen, remarking, 'one by one the hairs from my head are leaving me ...'.²² Turning his mule he made his escape towards the plain's gully, but as he pushed the animal to climb its steep embankment it lost its footing and fell on top of him, trapping him. Within minutes he too was a prisoner.

When Gonzalo was brought before Gasca he attempted to justify his rebellion by reminding him that it was he and his brothers who had won the Inca empire for the Spanish Crown. Gasca answered that although His Majesty had granted his brother the marqués all he had given him, which was sufficient to raise him and his brothers from a life of poverty to that of great wealth, Gonzalo had shown no gratitude, especially as he himself had done nothing towards the discovery of Peru, and his brother, who had done everything, had always demonstrated his gratitude, loyalty and respect. He did not wait for a reply but ordered his marshal to take him away.²³

Most chroniclers record that Gonzalo Pizarro met his death with resolve and dignity. His sentence was proclaimed before the entire army by the Judge Andrés de Cianca:

... it be declared that the said Gonzalo Pizarro has committed the crime of *laesae majestatis* against the Crown ... and for which we condemn him as traitor and his descendants in the male line for two generations and in the female line for one generation ... that he be taken from his imprisonment on a mule with his feet and hands manacled and that he be brought before this royal assembly of His Majesty ... and that his crimes be proclaimed ... and that he be brought to this place of execution and that his head be struck off ... and that after his death it be taken to the city of Lima ... and that under it be inscribed in large lettering: This is the head of the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro who was brought to justice in the valley of Jaquijahuana where he gave battle against the royal standard in defence of his treason and tyranny ... and we further order that his houses in Cuzco be razed to the ground and that their foundations be scattered with salt.²⁴

In compliance with his sentence, the following morning Gonzalo, bare chested and wrapped in a black cloak, his hands and feet manacled, was taken on a mule to the scaffold that had been erected on the battlefield. In his hands he held a crucifix and an image of the Madonna. Through the silent ranks of men, many of whom had in the past knelt to him in obeisance as his courtiers, he was led by Gasca's marshal, Alonso de Alvarado, who owed all his rank and honours to Gonzalo's brother, the marqués, and a crier who read out his crimes, until the small procession, which was also accompanied by several friars and priests, reached the small

wooden gallows. There, Gonzalo himself made a short speech, once more repeating what he had told Gasca, and then he knelt on the block and addressed the executioner, the mulatto Juan Enríquez, whom he knew: 'Do your work well, brother Juan,' were his last words.²⁵ And with one stroke of the axe, his head was struck off. His body was taken to the convent of La Merced at Cuzco, where the decapitated corpses of the Adelantado Almagro and his mestizo son also lay buried. His head was fried in oil and sent to Lima, and placed there on display in a cage in the main square, where it would remain for almost a decade.

Francisco de Carbajal would share his caudillo's fate. His former adversary Centeno, who had ordered he be unharmed by the throng of soldiers who clamoured to attack him, was said to have been visibly irritated by the fact that Carbajal did not appear to recognise him, and asked him whether in fact he did recall him. 'My God, Sir!' Carbajal is recorded to have exclaimed, 'having only ever seen your buttocks in retreat, I can say I do not.'²⁶ Stripped of his armour he was dragged naked in a basket by several mules to the scaffold, where, before being hung, he was asked by his confessor to say the Our Father and the Hail Mary. Defiant to the end, and to the amusement of the onlookers who crowded his gallows, he repeated only: 'Our Father, hail Mary.'²⁷

Each and every one of the encomenderos and conquistadores of Peru had at one time or another supported Gonzalo's rebellion, including Centeno. Some of them, like the father of Garcilaso de la Vega, were pardoned. Others, like the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, who had refused to join Gonzalo at Huarina and who joined Gasca at Jauja, were also pardoned but were exiled from Cuzco for a brief period of time and heavily fined. Most, however, were less fortunate, and little mercy was shown the rank and file of the rebel prisoners who were sentenced to be brought to Cuzco on the backs of llamas and publicly flogged, before being taken to the Pacific ports for deportation as slaves in the royal galleys. All the principal rebel captains taken prisoner were hanged and quartered, their heads ordered to be placed on poles in each of the settlements of the colony. A certain Extremaduran called Sierra was condemned to be flogged and to have his tongue cut out, a sentence Gasca himself recorded to the Council of the Indies: 'so disgraceful was his rebellion that a day before the Battle of Jaquijahuana, being one of the enemy outriders, he had been spotted by

our men and urged to join them and serve the king but shouted that they could kiss his backside, and that had they meant the king of France he might well have joined them, even though he had a fine king in Gonzalo Pizarro.’²⁸

Gasca’s pardon of the more prominent encomenderos was publicly criticised by many of the landless loyalists, among them the Friar Alonso de Medina, who wrote a theatrical protestation to him denouncing the treachery of each of the colony’s cities and conquistadores: ‘Tell me Cuzco, why is it that you do not speak? Being as you are a traitor to the Crown? See here, a certain Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, traitor in death in your service to Gonzalo Pizarro, and who, when he was dead, neither wished to serve the king; traitor in life, without ever repenting, and allowed to keep his Indians, his mansion and a life of repose ... see here, Diego Maldonado, the rich, traitor in your youth, and traitor in your old age.’²⁹

To commemorate his victory, which had left only sixteen dead, Gasca ordered Alonso de Mendoza, another deserter who had served Carbajal in his campaign in the Charcas, to found at Chuquiabo, a valley south of Lake Titicaca, the city of Our Lady of Peace, La Paz, the administrative capital of Bolivia, where the rebel and loyalist dead from the Battle of Huarina were buried many years later. Though Gasca had been able to reward some of his captains with a number of encomiendas, there were not enough within the colony to appease his followers, fomenting a dissent which would soon manifest itself in open rebellion. Taking with him the blood-stained banners of the rebel army which had marked his victory, on his arrival in Spain he was rewarded with the bishopric of Palencia, from where some ten years later, after the abdication of the emperor, he would travel from his diocese to greet his sovereign during his final journey to his retreat in the Extremaduran monastery of Yuste.³⁰

Within three years Gasca’s legacy would once more throw Peru into civil war with an abortive rebellion at La Plata of the encomendero Sebastián de Castilla, who had so grandly accompanied Gonzalo on his entry into Lima, and who later betrayed him. Eight months afterwards a further insurrection was led in Cuzco by the encomendero Francisco Hernández Girón, who attempted to kill the city’s governor in protest at the introduction of a law prohibiting Indian servitude. The revolt, supported by the hundreds of landless veterans of Gasca’s army, lasted for almost a year and once more

witnessed the defeat of a loyalist army at Chuquinga, near the famous Nazca lines, north of Arequipa. A month later he was defeated at Pucará, north of Lake Titicaca, by an army led by Lima's judges. Captured and taken to Lima where he was hung, his decapitated head was placed in an iron cage alongside the two cages that contained the skulls of Gonzalo and Carbajal. This marked the end of almost seventeen years of rebellion which had left more Spanish dead than the entire conquest of the Inca empire and which, albeit for a brief period, had witnessed America's first independent state.

The rebellions of Peru were recorded by four contemporary chroniclers; there was also an account based on Pedro de la Gasca's memoirs, written in about 1565 by Juan Calvete de Estrella who had never been to Peru, and that of Garcilaso de la Vega, penned in the early part of the seventeenth century. The first account was published by Agustín de Zárate, who had lived in Lima at the outset of the insurrection. Many of the events concerning the Conquest, which he also wrote about, he had researched while staying with the conquistadore Nicolás de Ribera, the 'old man'. His affiliation with the rebel cause enabled him to obtain permission from Gonzalo to return to Spain, where he was imprisoned on suspicion of complicity in the rebellion. During his incarceration in his native city of Valladolid he wrote his history, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú*. After his release in 1554, Zárate obtained a minor post at court which enabled him to accompany the regent, the future King Philip II, to England for his marriage at Winchester Cathedral to Queen Mary Tudor. It was during the voyage of the royal galleon from La Coruña to Southampton that Philip read his manuscript and authorised its publication. A year afterwards Zárate's history was published in the Netherlands, and twenty-six years later sections of it were translated into English under the title *The Strange and Delectable History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru*.

Unlike Zárate, the chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, who was of either Spanish or Mexican mestizo parentage, had probably served as a conscript in the loyalist army. Though some historians believe he was never in Peru, it appears implausible that his superbly descriptive and colourful account of Gonzalo's rebellion, which is by far the most accurate, could have been recorded on simple hearsay. Either it was completely plagiarised

from an unknown eyewitness or it was written by him. A talented linguist, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, included a vocabulary of quéchua in his account *Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Perú*. Almost nothing is known of his life, other than that he is recorded to have been living in Mexico in 1603, over half a century after leaving Peru. His manuscript, originally entitled *Quinquenarios*, is preserved in the provincial library of Toledo and was transcribed and published in 1904.

Diego Fernández, known more commonly as el Palentino because of his birthplace in the Castilian city of Palencia, was an official chronicler. A clerk to the Audiencia of Lima, he had arrived in Peru shortly after Gasca's victory. Some years later he was commissioned to write a history of Girón's insurrection. Fernández subsequently wrote an account of Gonzalo's rebellion. His manuscript, which also contained a brief though inaccurate outline of Inca history, was published in Seville in 1571.

Pedro de Cieza de León is regarded not only as the foremost historian of the rebellions and of the Conquest, but of Inca civilisation. Born in Extremadura, though by adoption a native of Seville, where his family had trading interests with the Isthmus and Caribbean islands, he had emigrated to the New World inspired by the treasures and Inca artefacts he had seen as a young boy lining the quays of Seville which Hernando Pizarro had brought back with him to Spain. In 1536 Cieza de León was made an encomendero of Urute, in Colombia, from where, eleven years later, he joined Gasca's army. From Tumibamba to Túmbez, and through the central Andes, he followed Gasca's troops on their march south to Cuzco, visiting the various Inca sites he would later record in an almost journalistic style, leaving a descriptive sketch of each region and of its people and customs. At Cuzco, as in the settlements of the Collasuyo and Charcas he later visited with Gasca's permission, he was given access to the quipucamayoc and amauta elders, from whom he was able to gather much of the information that would form part of his chronicle of the Inca people.

After only four years in the colony he returned to Seville, where in 1553 he published the first part of his history, dying a year later, and leaving as his literary heir the great Dominican reformer Bartolomé de las Casas. Only within the last hundred years or so have Cieza de León's other manuscripts been discovered, revealing a prolific account, ranging from the mythology of the Incas to the Conquest, and later civil wars and rebellions of the Spaniards: a work which in the early seventeenth century the official

historian of the Council of the Indies Antonio de Herrera extensively plagiarised.

Fourteen years before Cieza de León's death his patron Pedro de Gasca was buried in the church of La Magdalena at Valladolid. On the walls of the church's façade can still be seen the rebel banners of Gonzalo's army which he had taken with him on his journey home, sculpted and surmounting the coat of arms his grateful emperor had awarded him.

Whatever Gonzalo Pizarro's shortcomings and the trail of blood left by him and his mentor Carbajal, he had demonstrated that the lands of New Castile and the Panamanian Isthmus could survive independently of the mother country, and that their wealth could be retained for their own betterment and prosperity. It was a dream few would aspire to in the centuries to come, and not until Simón Bolívar's triumphant entry into the former Inca capital three hundred years later would it become a reality, a dream for which Gonzalo paid with his life on the plains of Jaquijahuana.

TEN

Inca Princesses, Courtesans and Wives of Pizarro's Conquistadores

I was born as a flower of the field,
as a flower I was cherished in my youth.
I came to full age, I grew old;
Now I am withered and die.

Inca memory poem

The earliest surviving records of the Inca princesses, the daughters and nieces of the Emperor Huayna Cápac, are to be found in the eyewitness accounts of Pizarro's conquistadores at Cajamarca, where some of them had formed part of Atahualpa's large harem of concubines. Some were his sisters and cousins, others were simply his mistresses who were not of Inca royal blood, but daughters of his principal caciques. Pedro Pizarro recalled that almost all of them were exceptionally beautiful.

The most important Inca princess at Cajamarca was Atahualpa's half-sister Quispe Sisa, who after her baptism at Jauja was known as Doña Inés, and who was Pizarro's mistress and the mother of his two children Francisca and Gonzalo, born at Jauja and at Lima.

Shortly after the unsuccessful siege of Pizarro's new capital by the Emperor Manco, Pizarro rid himself of his mistress, marrying her off to his servant Francisco de Ampuero, who would become one of Lima's wealthiest encomenderos. Separated from her children, who were brought up in the Spanish household of Pizarro's sister-in-law, the young and vivacious Inca princess was to live out her days as a maltreated wife in fear of her psychopathic husband.

On 26 February 1547 a large crowd gathered in the main square of the City of the Kings to witness the execution of an Indian sorceress known

as the witch Yanque. Among the officials standing on the square's podium, waiting to witness the execution, was the city's alderman Francisco de Ampuero, the victim of the witch's enchantments. Standing beside him, dressed in her native costume, was his Indian wife, an Inca princess; it was she who had instigated the acts of witchcraft, but she had been pardoned by the city's magistrate at the behest of her husband. Most of the colonists assembled in the square had also attended the lengthy court hearing, in which the sorceress and her accomplice, the princess's African slave Simón, had been interrogated by the public prosecutor and admitted their guilt after being tortured.

The descriptions they gave both startled and infuriated the spectators, as they related how they had magically summoned Alderman Ampuero's shadow and cast a spell restraining him from beating and maltreating his wife. But the alderman's wife had again complained to the sorceress that her husband had continued in his maltreatment of her and this was the reason, the witch Yanque claimed, why she had been forced to conjure the devil himself, in the form of a four-legged animal. Both of the prisoners had received the severest sentences, while their client was left to the mercy of her husband.

At precisely six o'clock that evening a small wooden cart drawn by four Indians entered the main square. Seated with her head bowed and wearing a yellow coned hat, on which was written the word 'Blasphemer', was the witch Yanque, who was then tied to a stake, surrounded by kindling, which was set ablaze.

Nothing more is recorded of the Inca princess until eight years later, when she attended the same courtroom as a witness on behalf of the orphaned children of her brother, the former Emperor Atahualpa. In faltering Castilian she gave her name as Doña Inés, and declared that her Indian name had been Quispe Sisa, and that she was Atahualpa's sister and the wife of the Spaniard Francisco de Ampuero, alderman and encomendero of the city.¹

After discarding Doña Inés, Pizarro began a relationship with her cousin Cuxirimay, Doña Angelina, by whom he had two sons, Francisco and Juan, born either at Lima or at Cuzco. Pizarro married neither of the princesses; possibly for the simple reason of the inbuilt racism common to most Spaniards, evidenced by the fact that only one of his more prominent

conquistadores, Alonso de Mesa, in his old age eventually married a native woman. Not even the wealthy Cuzco encomendero Diego Maldonado, whose mistress the Inca Princess Doña Lucía Clara was the mother of his sons and heirs, contemplated such an action, preferring to seek a young Spanish bride, who, because of his old age and impotency, never gave him the legitimate Spanish heir he so much desired.²

The fate of the other Inca princesses who had been at Cajamarca was no less humiliating. Hernando de Soto's mistress, the Princess Doña Leonor, the mother of his daughter, was abandoned by him in Cuzco on his return to Spain. Eventually married to a humble Spanish armourer known as Baptista, *el galán*, the handsome, she experienced the horror of seeing him hung by Alonso de Toro, Gonzalo Pizarro's governor, because of which, according to the testimony of the Morisca Beatriz de Salcedo, 'seeing herself abandoned and without a husband, [she] died from sheer anger'.³

Little is known of the life of Pizarro's mistress Doña Angelina, other than that after Pizarro's murder she was allowed to take her two young sons with her to Cuzco. There she later married the Spanish quéchua interpreter Juan Díez de Betanzos, who had served Carbajal during the Gonzalist rebellion as his treasurer and clerk, accompanying him throughout his murderous campaign in the Charcas. A native of Valladolid, on the strength of his wife being the mother of Pizarro's mestizo sons Betanzos was awarded an encomienda by the governor Vaca de Castro, for whose inquiry into the origins of the Incas commissioned at Cuzco Betanzos had acted as interpreter to the city's quipucamayoc and Inca lords. From much of the evidence he collected at the inquiry and from his wife's relatives, he wrote his history *Summa y Narración de los Incas*, one of the earliest accounts of the Inca people and their culture. The first part of his manuscript was discovered in the library of the Escorial and was published in 1880. A second section, which had been in the library of the Dukes of Medinaceli, was discovered in Mallorca and first published in 1987. A dictionary of quéchua which he wrote as a foreword to his history has never been found.

None of these princesses, however, was regarded by the Inca nobility as coyas, the legitimate daughters of the Emperor Huayna Cápac and his sister-queen Rahua Ocllo, as their mothers had been his concubines. Other than Princess Azarpay, who was later garrotted and killed by Pizarro in order to placate his mistress Doña Inés's jealousy during the siege of Lima,

only two of Huayna Cápac's legitimate daughters survived Atahualpa's massacre at Cuzco. Betanzos names them as the coyas Marca Chimbo (Doña Juana), and Quispiquipi (Doña Beatriz). The purity of their lineage is also verified in the testimonial of Doña Beatriz's eldest son and the evidence given by the Inca lords.⁴

Both girls, then possibly ten and nine years old, had been imprisoned by Quisquis after his capture of their brother the Emperor Huáscar and were intended for Atahualpa's harem. The Emperor Manco was also to regard the girls as trophies because of their superior lineage, and on entering Cuzco with Pizarro he took possession of them.

Some time before Diego de Almagro set off from Cuzco on his expedition to Chile, one of the missionaries who accompanied him recorded that Manco gave Almagro 'a great quantity of gold and also one of his sisters, Marca Chimbo, a daughter of Huayna Cápac, who was the most important woman in the kingdom, and who, had she been a man, would have inherited the Inca realm; and she gave Almagro a cavern filled with gold and silver, which in bars weighed 27,000 pesos alone; and to another captain she gave from the same cavern the equivalent of 12,000 pesos of silver; and not even by these acts was she honoured by the Spaniards, being raped various times, for she was of a mild and gentle disposition and very beautiful, though later marked with syphilis.'⁵

The next recorded mention of the Princess Doña Juana is as the mistress of Almagro's secretary and treasurer Juan Balsa, who accompanied him at his execution and acted as the main executor of his will, and who was the father of her son Juan. Balsa was one of the conspirators of Pizarro's murder and took a full part in his killing at Lima. He was soon after appointed by the younger Almagro as the commander of his army.

At the Battle of Chupas, his mistress Doña Juana, mounted on a mule and holding their newly born child in her arms, witnessed his killing at the hands of his own Indian auxiliaries as he tried to make his escape. Regarded as part of the rebel booty she was given to the elderly Spanish interpreter Francisco de Villacastín, he whom Garcilaso de la Vega described as having his front teeth missing. Villacastín, though an insignificant figure in the early years of the Conquest, during Gonzalo's rebellion became one of his most ardent supporters in Cuzco and was awarded by him the office of mayor of the city.

It was during this period that Doña Juana was able to enjoy a level of luxury and position in Cuzco's colonial society she had only briefly experienced during the younger Almagro's rebellion as Juan Balsa's mistress. However, at Jaquijahuana her husband Villacastín was exiled to Spain for life and died shortly afterwards in Cuzco's jail, leaving her once more a widow and impoverished. The year of her death is unknown.

Her son Juan Balsa was one of the leading mestizos in Cuzco and associated with a number of minor insurrections of mestizos, at one point betraying both the Spaniards to his Inca cousins at Vilcabamba, and later acting as one of the Spanish guides into the lost city at the time of its second invasion.⁶

Also living at Cuzco in the early years of the colony was the Princess Chimpú Ocllo, Doña Isabel, a niece of Huayna Cápac. It would be through the writing of her son Garcilaso that much of the history of the Inca people would be made known to seventeenth-century Europe. For most of her early adult life Doña Isabel had been the mistress of the Extremaduran hidalgo Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega, who had arrived in Peru at the time of the siege of Cuzco. After serving under Gonzalo Pizarro in the conquest of the Collasuyo he had been awarded an encomienda at Tapacarí in the valley of Cochabamba, and though he had initially been opposed to Gonzalo's rebellion he had later served under him until his desertion at Jaquijahuana. Pardoned by Gasca, he subsequently became corregidor of Cuzco and married a Spanish noblewoman: by then the aspiration of most of the better bred conquistadores who claimed hidalgo lineage.

His mestizo son Garcilaso was born in Cuzco in 1539 and baptised with the family name of Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, though he would later adopt his father's name. His education, together with that of other mestizo sons of conquistadores, was entrusted to Juan de Cuéllar, a canon of Cuzco, who in 1552 established a small school in the city. Among their fellow students were the sons of the murdered Pedro del Barco and Pedro de Candía, Pizarro's old comrade, and Pizarro's own son by Doña Angelina, Francisco. So proud was the canon of his charges, Garcilaso recalled years later, that he had wished he could have sent each of them to the University of Salamanca.

A year after his father's death in 1559, by then aged nineteen, Garcilaso left Cuzco for Spain and was never to return. After serving against the

Morisco uprising in Andalucía in 1570, in the army of Don Juan of Austria, who a year later would destroy the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, he settled in the township of Montilla, and then at Córdoba. Far removed from his homeland, the former pupil of canon Cuéllar's small school at Cuzco was to write one of the greatest narrative histories of the Americas, *Los Comentarios Reales de los Incas* and its sequel *Historia General del Perú*, a work that would influence the perception of Inca civilisation for centuries afterwards.

Though at times historically unreliable in anything that would veer from his projection of an heroic and almost utopian Inca society – denying, for example, the existence of human sacrifice – his history, nevertheless, presents an epic account of a people, their religion and customs, portrayed in a literary style unequalled by any of Peru's numerous chroniclers with the exception of Cieza de León and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara.

Much of what Garcilaso wrote was based on the stories and legends he had heard as a child from his mother's relatives, and from what he had observed during his adolescence. As he records in his history, many of the veterans of Cajamarca were known to him, from whom he would have been given first-hand accounts of the Conquest. He also relied on the existing published histories and an unpublished manuscript in Latin by the Jesuit mestizo Blas Valera.

After writing a literary work of translation from Italian, entitled *Los Tres Diálogos de Amor*, in 1605, and a genealogical essay of his father's family, Garcilaso wrote a history of the conquest of Florida by Pizarro's cavalry commander, Hernando de Soto. Four years later he published the first part of his history of Peru, seven years before his death at Córdoba at the age of seventy-seven. Bequeathing the little he possessed to endow a chapel dedicated to the Holy Souls of Purgatory in the city's cathedral mosque where he would be buried, he left his African slave Marina de Córdoba an annuity of fifty ducats and a mandate for her freedom.⁷ Ignorant of the universal fame the history of his mother's people would bring him, little would Garcilaso have imagined that some three and a half centuries after his death his remains would be brought back to the city of his birth by his sovereign's descendant King Juan Carlos of Spain to be buried in state at Cuzco's church of el Triunfo. His mother Doña Isabel, defrauded by the Spanish peasant husband she had later married, was to die a virtual pauper.

Each of the more prominent conquistadores had taken Inca princesses for their mistresses, who were regarded not only as booty but as trophies because of the prestige of their royal lineage. Most of the daughters of the Emperor Huayna Cápac in their own right held the feudal allegiance of lands and Indians given them by their father at their birth, which in many cases were associated with the encomiendas awarded by Pizarro to his captains. Most of their names are unknown. Both Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro are recorded as having fathered children whose mothers were Inca princesses. Juan Pizarro refused to recognise his daughter; Gonzalo, on the other hand, doted on his son Franciscuito, whom Gasca exiled to Spain.

Every single conquistadore, even the humblest foot soldier at Cajamarca, acquired an Indian mistress and servant. Some had even marched with several women accompanying them. Imitating the feudal rights of the Inca lords, as encomenderos they took possession of any women in their lands. Brought up in a world of Catholic puritanism, where men were publicly beaten for committing adultery, the Conquest represented for many a sexual paradise of unlimited promiscuity. For their Indian concubines it represented little more than abandonment and eventual humiliation at the hands of the Spanish wives their lovers later imported, from either Spain or the well-established colonies of the Isthmus and Caribbean, where Creole women, born in the Indies but of Spanish parentage, were in abundance and in search of their own financial conquests.

The early years of the Conquest when the veterans of Cajamarca had lived openly with their Indian mistresses had given way to a semblance of moral conformity imposed on the colony by successive missionaries and by the Crown itself, which publicly criticised the failure of the by then middle-aged conquistadores to marry and set an example to colonists and Indians alike: something to which they had previously turned a blind eye during Pizarro's governorship.

The general aversion of the conquistadores to wed their Indian concubines led to a gold rush of women fortune hunters from Spain and from the Isthmus, more than willing to trade their youth and white skin for the fortunes of the gout-ridden and battle-scarred soldiers, many of whom were disfigured by syphilis and the facial warts from which the elder Almagro, among others, was recorded to have suffered. The influx of women, from the noblest families of the Peninsula to the humblest prostitutes, would lay the foundations for the future Creole aristocracy of

the colony. It would also deprive the mestizo children of the conquistadores of any legal right to their elderly fathers' fortunes, for they would inevitably be seen by their young Spanish stepmothers as a threat to their own children. It was a cycle from which few of the conquistadores would be immune, as in the case of Lucas Martínez Vegazo who in his old age, having discarded his Inca mistress of long standing, married a Creole young enough to be his granddaughter, who would eventually inherit his *encomienda*.

By the mid-sixteenth century even marriage brokers were well established in Seville. One such lady advertised her trade in a leaflet with the following words: 'Whoever would like to buy a licence to go to the Indies, may go to the gate of San Juan ... and in that street ask for Francisca Brava, and she will sell it to them there.'⁸ From the earliest days of the Conquest, when Hernando de Soto had brought with him his lover and probable prostitute Juana Hernández, the riches of Peru had attracted Spanish women. Some, such as the Morisca slave Beatriz de Salcedo, who belonged to a Crown official whom she accompanied to Cajamarca and later married, became rich beyond her dreams, eventually inheriting his *encomienda*. Others were simple Spanish peasant women with few pretensions, such as Pizarro's sister-in-law Inés Muñoz, who brought up his children, and María Calderón, whom Carbajal ordered to be strangled for criticising Gonzalo Pizarro and then hung by her feet from her bedroom window. A few were members of the higher nobility, such as Doña Ana de Velasco, a granddaughter of the Duke of Frías, who felt affronted at having to give up her stool at Mass to the plebeian though prominent widow of a conquistador, and who persuaded her husband the marshal Alonso de Alvarado to hire two brigands to disfigure the woman and cut off her hair.⁹

Overlooking the Plaza de las Nazarenas in Cuzco stands the convent of that name, known also as the House of the Serpents because of the two large sculpted serpents supporting the coat of arms of its façade, and part of which building is now the Hotel Monasterio del Cuzco. Though converted in the late seventeenth century into the convent church of the Nazarenas Order, much of its façade, patios and structure remain as they would have appeared when the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and his family lived there. The mansion had been built some ten years after the Conquest on the foundations of an Inca palace. The Jesuit chronicler

Bernabé Cobo recorded that several huaca stones formed part of its masonry and were venerated by the Incas of the city as magical and sacred shrines. Based on the conquistadore's various wills and his testimonials to the Crown and other family papers, a picture can be pieced together not only of the Hispanic society of Cuzco, but of the lifestyle of a colonial grandee.

On the morning in 1561 when the conquistadore had led the procession of family mourners from his mansion to the convent church of Santo Domingo for the burial of his Spanish wife Doña Lucía he was forty-six years old. His young wife had been the daughter of the elderly conquistadore Gómez de Mazuelas, who in the fifteen years of their marriage had borne him two daughters and five sons. Sixteen years old at the time of their marriage, she had brought her husband a dowry of 20,000 pesos of gold.

Their marriage had taken place at Cuzco, possibly towards the end of 1546. A staunch supporter of Gonzalo Pizarro, Mazuelas however had managed to evade any censureship after Gasca's victory and was rewarded by the Crown with the office of alderman of Cuzco.¹⁰ That it was a marriage of convenience is confirmed in the letter Mazuelas wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro, dated 27 February 1547:

My illustrious lord, by other letters I have sent you and which you have not answered, I have already informed your excellency of the events that have taken place here [in Cuzco]. In this letter I will only touch on what has wasted me away, with the little I possess, which is ever at your excellency's disposal and service ... as your excellency is by now aware, Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, encomendero of this city, married my daughter, who I would have imagined would have best served your excellency in this city or in the domain of his encomienda, and if he be there, and that be the case, I breathe freely in accepting his departure ... however, as I know him to be so obsessed with this business of his gambling, I believe he has gone to that city [of Lima] which offers him greater opportunity to be among people of that persuasion; yet not content in merely gambling what he possesses and what he does not possess, he has sold the dwelling of his mansion in this city, which has caused us all here a great deal of trouble, and being informed of this, my daughter, his wife, has petitioned the justices of this city for the tribute he

receives from his Indians ... the justices, nevertheless, have informed me that your excellency has ordered that the tribute be sent to Lima. If your excellency has no need for it in expenditure for your service, I beg it be sent to his wife, even if it be only for her food and sustenance. And this I beg as your servant, for other than it being just, I will also receive some mercy. Our lord, most illustrious excellency, may health and prosperity be yours, whose illustrious hands I kiss ...¹¹

The eldest of their children was Doña María, born at Cuzco in the closing years of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, and who at the age of eleven had been placed in the city's Franciscan convent of Santa Clara, originally located in the same square as her parents' mansion, then known as Santa Clara la vieja. It was the first such institution founded in Peru in 1550, and was established at Cuzco seven years later in the houses which had belonged to the conquistadore Alonso Díaz, principally for the daughters of impoverished veterans of the conquest. Under its first abbess, Doña Francisca Ortiz, it numbered twenty-four nuns of Spanish parentage, twelve mestizas and forty creole girl students who were educated until they were of marriageable age. Among the founding nuns were the daughters and granddaughters of the conquistadores Bernabé Picón and Francisco de Villafuerte.¹²

In defiance of her parents Doña María chose to enter the convent's novitiate. It was an action which led to a lengthy dispute between her father and the nuns, to whom he was eventually forced to donate a dowry of jewels and vestments, valued at 2,000 pesos of gold, together with 700 cattle for the convent's farms.¹³ His refusal to give any further donations on behalf of his daughter may explain the wording of much of the Franciscan chronicler Diego de Mendoza's account of the young novice:

... among the glories of this life was Sister María de Leguizamón, one of the twenty-four founding nuns of this convent, daughter of the valorous conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and of his wife Doña Lucía, citizens of Cuzco, who were well known in this realm for their nobility and wealth, who at the age of eleven left the home of her parents, and fleeing from there, and from the vanities of the world, entered the convent of Santa Clara ... and from where not all the influence of her parents would make her leave; neither by enticements nor promises; till

they disinherited her, denying her their refuge and her maintenance ... yet at so tender an age she commended herself to God ... and the more her parents denied her vocation the more she accepted her spiritual sisters as her family ... bringing her from the confusion and captivity of Babylon to the doors of Sion.¹⁴

Taking the name of Sister María de la Visitacion, Doña María was to become one of the most prominent figures in Cuzco, devoting much of her life to the care of Indians in the native hospital of the city, and eventually being elected abbess of Santa Clara. In his history Friar Mendoza refers to her many demonstrations of sanctity and mortifications. At her death, at the age of sixty, he recalls that a choir of angels was heard singing Vespers in the chapel of the convent, and that some days later she appeared to one of the nuns. The friar writes that four years after her death, when the convent was transferred to its present site, her coffin was opened and her body found to be incorrupted, adding that in order to place her remains in a smaller coffin to be taken for burial in their new church the nuns broke her legs, and that 'blood flowed freely from the wounds'.

Hardly any records survive of Serra de Leguizamón's other children. His son Jerónimo also entered the religious life in the monastery of Santo Domingo at Cuzco, built on the foundations of the Inca temple of Coricancha. The licentiate Cepeda sent a letter to King Philip II from the city of La Plata, dated 14 February 1585, enclosing a missive from the Jesuit Alonso de Barzana: 'In order to comply with my office in approving the native speech of the Indians among the clergy who reside within this bishopric of Charcas, I can testify that the Reverend Father Jerónimo de Leguizamón, curate of the parish of San Pedro de Potosí, speaks with great propriety the quéchuá language.'¹⁵ Ten years later Jerónimo was elected prior of the monastery of Santo Domingo in Huamanga.

Only two of the conquistadore's legitimate children married. His eldest son Mansio, heir to his encomienda of Alca, married Doña Francisca de Cabezuelas against his wishes, as he recorded in a letter in 1586, two years after his son's death:

I wish to place as a matter of record to His Majesty the King and to the Mayors of this city of Cuzco, that my eldest son, Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, abandoned my house against my will and against all reason, being though a person of much quality and intelligence ... and that the

Archbishop of Lima seeing the disorder and inequality of the marriage my son proposed, imprisoned him for his own good, but on his release he went to the city of Arequipa and there married all the same.¹⁶

Whatever the reason, the conquistadore strongly disapproved of the marriage, and because of it he disinherited his son and spent years in litigation fighting the demands of his granddaughters, the eventual heirs to his encomienda. His younger son, Francisco, whom he had twice sent to Spain at the cost of 10,000 pesos of gold to seek a reward for his services from the king, would equally disappoint him by his marriage, for he chose to wed a young woman in Seville who could neither read nor write and whose claim to the Casa de la Contratación to hidalgo nobility was only verified by several illiterate witnesses, one of whom described her as 'fair haired, with aquiline features and a mole on the right side of her face'.¹⁷ His youngest daughter, Doña Petronila, married the son of a wealthy encomendero. His will also mentions his illegitimate daughter Doña Paula, whose mother was Indian, who formed part of his household and to whom he left 2,000 pieces of eight.¹⁸

Garcilaso de la Vega, who was often a guest in Serra de Leguizamón's mansion in Cuzco, writes that '... in later years the cabildo of Cuzco, seeing how ruined this son of theirs had become because of his gambling, in order to cure him of his addiction elected him mayor of the city for the term of a year: a service he performed with all care and diligence, for there was much of a gentleman about him, and for the whole of that year he never once touched a card.'¹⁹

Contrary to what Garcilaso wrote from the distance of his Spanish exile, a will made by Serra de Leguizamón several years later shows him to have continued his passion for gaming: 'I owe Juan Gómez 800 pesos of silver', the will, dated 1576, records his debts: 'Agustín Alzazan 100 pesos of gold ... Agustín López Gómez 150 pesos ... 1,000 pesos Antonio Pereyra, the mayor, won from me at gaming ... the licentiate Alonso Perez 4,000 pesos ... 3,400 pesos I owe the said Diego de los Ríos from gaming, which he won from me'.²⁰

The most revealing, if not contradictory, insight into Serra de Leguizamón's character, and almost at variance with the energy and time he spent petitioning the Crown to compensate him for the loss of the original

award of encomiendas Pizarro gave to the Inca Prince Paullu, is the penitent attitude he demonstrated in his later years towards his tributary Indians, and the restitution he would make them in both his wills. Though a number of conquistadores in their old age were to make similar restitutions for the share of booty and treasure they had obtained at Cajamarca and at Cuzco, there is little evidence to deny their sincerity, even if such sentiments were influenced by their impending deaths and the advice of their confessors.

Many made no such gestures. Neither did any of the later colonists, responsible for far greater exploitation and ill treatment of the Indians of their encomiendas than had been the by then elderly conquistadores, a number of whom, like the trumpeter Pedro de Alconchel, who ran a boarding house in Lima, were virtually penniless. Nor was any such sentiment shared by the Crown officials of the colony: as in the case of the eight-year-old son of the judge Melchor Bravo de Saravia who was awarded an encomienda.

I [Serra de Leguizamón] declare that the produce and inheritance of Vizan [Alca] ... belongs to the Indians of my encomienda because it was they who planted it, and they who built its hacienda, and because of which it is theirs and which they are to keep and own, as it was once their own ... I declare that all the horse mares, goats, Castilian sheep, belong to the Indians of my encomienda ... and this I return to them so that it be distributed among them ... I declare that I have received [over the years] in tribute from my Indians of my encomienda some 50,000 pesos of gold, and it is what I owe them.²¹

Considering that the produce and livestock of his encomienda – virtually its entire wealth – should by right have been inherited by his children, his action, however late in his life, betrays an extraordinary sense of morality, something shared by few of his countrymen. His encomienda at Alca in the Cuntisuyo, bordering the Cotahuasi River, was 140 miles south-west of Cuzco, and north-west of the city of Arequipa, and contained 4,500 Aimára Indians.²²

Serra de Leguizamón's last will shows him still to have been a rich man at the time of his death despite all his years of gambling, and still the owner of his mansion at Cuzco and of various farms and estates within its vicinity at the mountain huaca of Huanacauri, held sacred to the Inca panacas of the city. Among the possessions he listed are

five bars of gold, three large and two of medium size, marked and stamped ... in silver a large decorated urn and a small one, a serving dish and two jugs, thirteen small plates and two jars, three spoons, a chamber pot, three salt cellars, a candelabra, a figure of the Saviour, all in silver ... a tapestry, trunks, chairs, tables, beds, linen, a jewel case, a Negress, a horse, a coat of chain mail, a sword, a helmet of steel.²³

Another item provides for a further restitution to be made to the Indians of his encomienda at Alca:

... at the time of Cajamarca and of the distribution of treasures among the conquistadores, I, as one of them, was awarded 2,000 pesos of gold, and in the distribution in Cuzco, some 8,000 pesos of gold, more or less. And I was given the figure of the sun which was of gold and kept by the Incas in the House of the Sun which is now the convent of Santo Domingo and where they practised their idolatry, which I believe was worth some 2,000 pesos; all of which being some 12,000 pesos of gold. And I wish my executors to record this sum for the peace of my conscience and pay this exact sum from my estate.²⁴

Finally, he mentions his eldest and illegitimate mestizo son whose mother he had known in the early years of the Conquest and who was a princess of Cuzco: 'I declare that in the time of my youth I had a natural son Don Juan Serra de Leguizamón, now deceased, whose mother was Doña Beatriz Manco Cápac, youngest daughter of Huayna Cápac, once king of these realms, and that I provided for his marriage and household.'²⁵

The few records to survive of the Coya Quispiquipi, who after her baptism was known to the Spaniards as Doña Beatriz Manco Cápac, show her to have been one of the most remarkable if not tragic figures of the conquered Inca dynasty. The only description left of her is by the chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, who describes her as very beautiful.²⁶ As a young girl she had suffered the loss of her father the Emperor Huayna Cápac, and at the age of nine had witnessed the killings of both her mother, the Coya Rahua Ocllo, and her brother the Emperor Huáscar at the hands of Atahualpa's warrior chiefs.

She was born in the northern city of Surampalli, capital of the Cañari people (the site of the present-day Ecuadorian city of Cuenca), which her

father later named after his panaca of Tumibamba. 'It is known that she was born in the lodgings at Surampalli,' recalled the Inca Pastac, 'and that she is the daughter of Huayna Cápac; for I witnessed her birth, because of which great feasting was ordered, being as she was the daughter of so great a lord and king, the feasting lasting for ten days and ten nights.'²⁷ At her birth, as was the Inca custom, she was given for her guardian and protector one of her father's most powerful warrior chiefs, the cacique Cariapasa, lord of the Lupaca nation, whose lands lay on the northern and western shores of Lake Titicaca.²⁸

Together with her only surviving full sister, Marca Chimbo, she had been spared by Atahualpa's general Quisquis because of her youth, and, as the chronicler Juan Díez de Betanzos recorded, because she 'had known no man'.²⁹ Nothing is known of the role of her guardian Cariapasa during her captivity, and it seems likely that, like so many of her father's old warrior chiefs, he had sided with Atahualpa's rebel army. The conquistadore Juan de Pancorbo recalled having first seen the princess 'a few days after the capture of Cuzco', when she would have been perhaps only twelve years old.³⁰ The presbyter Sánchez de Olave also mentions having seen her after the fall of the city, remarking that she was one of the women attending her half-brother, the newly crowned Emperor Manco.³¹

It is more than likely that she only became the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón's lover some two years later, by which time her half-brother Manco was a prisoner of the Spaniards. Possibly it was then that he took her from the emperor's harem and made her his mistress. Pancorbo also recalled that a short while later the young princess 'informed her master, in whose house she lived, and who was Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, about the rebellion her brother had planned, and he informed Hernando Pizarro'.³²

For almost fourteen months during the siege of Cuzco the princess stayed with her lover in the fortified Inca palace in the city, where the 200 Spaniards and their Indian auxiliaries had barricaded themselves. The subsequent retreat of Manco's forces into the Andes, and the seizure of Cuzco by the Adelantado Diego de Almagro and his imprisonment of Pizarro's brothers and supporters, among them the 22-year-old Serra de Leguizamón, left the princess, who was carrying his child, at the mercy of his captors.

Francisco de Illescas, one of Almagro's prisoners, stated that in July 1537 he was present at the birth of the princess's son Juan, though it is more than likely that by then Doña Beatriz had been seized as booty by any one of Almagro's captains.³³ The subsequent defeat of Almagro at the Battle of Salinas by Hernando Pizarro brought the release of her son's father after almost a year of captivity, chained with the other leading Pizarrist prisoners in the subterranean chambers of the Inca fortress of Sacsahuaman. But his release brought her little consolation: it was probably the humiliation he must have felt at her enforced concubinage that led him to abandon her.

The city in which the seventeen-year-old princess was forced to find a home for herself and her young son was entirely in the hands of its conquerors, its great palaces and temples contemptuously converted into their stables and living quarters; here they kept their numerous Indian mistresses, many of them daughters of the caciques of their encomiendas. Not even the former temples in the city were open to Doña Beatriz as a shelter, serving as they did as storehouses or chapels. The next recorded mention of the princess, some years later, was made by the priest Luis Morales in a letter to the Spanish emperor:

There are many princesses, especially in the city of Cuzco, daughters of Huayna Cápac, whom many a fine hidalgo would marry, for some demand them; though for lack of their dowries they refuse to betroth them, especially as all of them previously possessed dowries and much land that was left them by their father. Your Majesty: I beg that you decree they be given dowries and lands so that they may live decently and marry, and so they will be secure to live honestly and in the service of God. And that Pedro de Bustinza, a poor hidalgo and citizen of Cuzco, who has married a daughter of Huayna Cápac, who is called Doña Beatriz, who by the Grace of God has children, and who live in great poverty, be given an encomienda so that they may be able to sustain themselves, and, in so doing, render God great service, and by which much joy will be given to the natives.³⁴

The Basque Pedro de Bustinza was a minor treasury official who had come to Peru in the train of Hernando Pizarro on his return to the colony and who had fought in the defence of Cuzco. The marriage probably took place some two years after the princess's abandonment by Serra de Leguizamón, and it

was probably then that she was baptised and given the Christian name of Doña Beatriz. In response to Morales' letter the Emperor Charles V granted Doña Beatriz the encomienda of Urcos, lying to the south-east of Cuzco in the ancestral lands of her mother, the Coya Rahua Ocllo, part of which had previously belonged to Hernando Pizarro. The award was to alter dramatically the lives of the couple and of their children, her five-year-old son Juan, and her two younger sons by Bustinza, Pedro and Martín.

The rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro in the years 1544 to 1548 was to bring even greater prosperity to the princess and her husband, who was one of Gonzalo's most loyal supporters. He was also one of the witnesses upon whom Cuzco's rebel cabildo initially called to justify the rebellion, testifying in a petition to the Crown that Gonzalo's army had been raised solely to defend the city from attack by the Emperor Manco:

It is known to me that Manco Inca, natural lord of these realms, has rebelled against His Majesty and that he has publicly declared that he intends to bring his warriors to this city of Cuzco and to seize it. I know of this because I am married with a lady who is a daughter of Huayna Cápac, once natural lord of these realms and sister of Manco Inca, and that since the day Gonzalo Pizarro and his men left the city, which is a month, more or less, each single day, my wife, who is greatly frightened, has implored me that we leave the city with our belongings, for she fears that Manco Inca will come here with many of his warriors and take her prisoner, and kill every single Spaniard ... and through another messenger sent by a sister of my wife, she has learnt that the Inca has stated that he is not angry with her: for she is his sister whom he most loves ... but still she wishes to flee the city ... for there are few of us left here and no more than 20 horses.³⁵

Another witness stated that 'Manco Inca has sworn by the sun and by the moon, and by the earth, that within a few days he will stand in the main square of Cuzco, and that his sisters, who are in this city and married to Spaniards, have also informed me of this, and they have each begged me to implore their husbands to leave the city for Arequipa, for if the Inca finds them he will kill them, for they had once been his women.'³⁶ However, Manco was never to besiege Cuzco again. Whatever the differences Doña Beatriz may have had with her half-brother, she demonstrated her love for

him by looking after two of his daughters, the Princesses Usezino and Ancaica, whom he had left behind in Cuzco after fleeing the city eight years previously.³⁷

Gonzalo's rebellion was not only to bring Huayna Cápac's daughter financial security and prestige but also notoriety. It is the chronicler Gutiérrez de Santa Clara who records that at the time Alonso de Toro, Gonzalo's notorious and feared henchman, was governor of Cuzco, she became Toro's mistress. Bustinza was in no position to object, possibly fearing for his life. The bizarre situation was even further complicated when Toro captured Serra de Leguizamón in the Cuntisuyo and had him tortured and imprisoned in Cuzco, threatening to kill him. It was a spectacle the princess may well have relished in revenge for her abandonment, but it is more than likely she saved her former lover's life for the sake of their son, persuading Toro not to behead him as he had intended. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara records that, at the time, Alonso de Toro was in fact married to a young Spanish woman, whose parents also lived in his mansion in Cuzco:

This Alonso de Toro gave his wife a terrible life even though he had only been married for one year, not for any fault of hers, but because of an Indian woman, whom he kept in his house as his concubine, and who was called in her language Cápac, and in Spanish Beatriz. This Indian was from the great province of Cuzco and one of the leading women of the land, called palla or coya, which means a great lady, and who was descended from the Incas, and whom he loved greatly, and with whom he had lived for some time before he had married ... and many times he told his wife he would rather see her dead ... and on many occasions his mother-in-law intervened on behalf of her daughter.³⁸

The chronicler records that after a while Toro's father-in-law attempted to throw Doña Beatriz out of the mansion, and this so incensed Toro that he struck the old man several times, and that as a result his father-in-law in desperation struck him down with a dagger, killing him. He adds that Doña Beatriz fled the city and that she was held as 'a great witch'.

Whether the princess was an adept at witchcraft or not will never be known, but shortly afterwards she is recorded as once more living with Bustinza, who after Gonzalo's victory at the Battle of Huarina was appointed by him Mayor of Cuzco. Bustinza's fate was no less bloody.

Betrayed by the princess's cousin Cayo Inca and captured by loyalists while raising Indian auxiliaries from her lands, he was taken to the President Pedro de la Gasca's encampment at Jauja, where he was garrotted.

Now twenty-seven and a widow with three sons, Doña Beatriz's future, like that of so many other wives and mistresses of the Gonzalist rebels, depended on the outcome of the ensuing Battle of Jaquijahuana. The news of Gonzalo's beheading was brought to her at Cuzco. She awaited her fate with a mixture of patience and defiance, as her nephew Garcilaso de la Vega recorded:

The wife of Pedro de Bustinza, who was a daughter of Huayna Cápac, and whose Indians of her encomienda had belonged to her and not to her husband, the governors gave in marriage to a fine soldier of good character called Diego Hernández, who it was said – more from malice than truth – in his youth had been a tailor. And when this was known to the princess she refused to marry him, saying that it was not right that a daughter of Huayna Cápac should be married to a tailor; and though the Bishop of Cuzco begged her to reconsider and the Captain Centeno and other personages tried to persuade her, none were able to do so. It was then they called upon Don Cristóbal Paullu, her brother, who on visiting her, took her aside to a corner of a room, and told her that it was not in their interest that she refuse the marriage, for it would only bring hardship to the royal family and the Spaniards would regard them as their enemies and never more offer them their friendship. She then agreed to accept her brother's command, though not in very good faith, and thus she went before the Bishop and the altar. And being asked by an interpreter if she would accept to be the wife of the soldier, she replied in her language: '*ichach munani, íchach manamuni*', which means, 'perhaps I do, perhaps I don't'. And so was concluded the betrothal, which was celebrated in the house of Diego de los Ríos, encomendero of Cuzco.³⁹

The dowry she brought her husband, an elderly soldier of fortune and native of Talavera, who was probably twice her age, was substantial for an Indian. Other than her mansion at Cuzco, which had previously belonged to the conquistadore and Gonzalist rebel Vasco de Guevara and was situated behind that of Garcilaso de la Vega's father, her encomienda of Urcos had

an annual tribute of some four hundred male Indians and their families. She also possessed substantial holdings in the region of Cuzco, including several mills, estates and coca plantations.⁴⁰ The Indian Mazma recalled: 'I have seen the Indians of all the regions and nations show her their obedience and respect as daughter of the lord and king.'⁴¹

The total Andean population in the cordillera by then consisted of probably no more than 2 million Indians and some 8,000 colonists; 346 of the latter were encomenderos, but only four encomiendas were held by members of the Inca royal house.⁴² The plight of the colony's bonded tribesmen had remained unchanged since the early years of the Conquest, though their numbers had been drastically reduced by recurring outbreaks of smallpox and the harshness of their servitude as auxiliaries for the warring conquistadores, and in the mining of silver, as the encomendero Antonio de Ribera recorded in a report to the Council of the Indies:

It has been some fifteen years since the Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro ordered the counting of Indians of the encomiendas of the conquistadores, and which numbered one million and five hundred and fifty thousand Indians. And when Pedro de la Gasca was to make a similar inquiry in order to assess the number of Indians to allocate and placate the complaints of the caciques who said they had not enough Indians to produce their tribute, it was discovered that in all the land there were no more than two hundred and forty three thousand Indians, as recorded by the testimonies that were made to the inspectors, I being one of them.⁴³

The Inca lords, though not in bondage, were dispossessed of their lands and wealth. Over the years they had been forced to make a living as virtual servants to the settlers with only a few exceptions, chiefly the immediate members of the royal family, among them the Inca Paullu who was to die a year after Gasca's victory at Jaquijahuana. Proud of his allegiance to his people's conquerors, he was buried in all the finery of a Castilian hidalgo in the small chapel he had built adjoining his palace, leaving as the heir to his encomienda his twelve-year-old son Don Carlos Inca. The leadership of the royal house at Cuzco was assumed by Doña Beatriz, following also the death of her sister, Doña Juana. 'In Cuzco where she resided,' the chronicler

Diego Fernández recorded, ‘there was no lord, male or female, greater than she.’⁴⁴

The small court over which she presided at her mansion in Cuzco would have been Indian in appearance and custom, for neither she nor any of her close relatives ever learnt to speak Castilian. The Indian chronicler Poma de Ayala, in a series of pen-and-ink drawings, at the turn of the century portrayed the coyas and princesses dressed in full-length embroidered capes, adorned at the neck with gold pendants, costumes also depicted in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century colonial paintings. Like other *encomenderos*, by then restricted by the Crown to residing in the cities from which their *encomiendas* were held, she would nevertheless have been obliged from time to time to make a tour of her lands and tributary Indians, travelling in a litter and accompanied on horseback by her husband Diego Hernández and her sons and *yanacona* servants. The administration of her *encomienda* would have been in the hands of Spanish stewards, landless colonists in general renowned for their cruelty and blatant dishonesty as foremen. In later years most were replaced by *mestizos*, although these were equally despised by the Indians of the *encomiendas*. The stewards were responsible for gathering the tribute and supervising the agricultural produce of the *caciques* which twice yearly – on the Feast of San Juan (24 June) and at Christmas – would be brought to the city of the *encomienda*’s jurisdiction for sale in its markets. Produce included coca, maize and potatoes, clothing and livestock (llamas, alpacas and vicuñas), together with whatever gold or silver had been mined in the tributary lands.

The princess’s marriage to an almost unknown conscript of Gasca’s army was indicative of the general reluctance of the more prominent conquistadores or Spaniards of *hidalgo* rank to marry Indians. Hernández, whom the chronicler Gutiérrez de Santa Clara records as having accompanied Carbajal as his tailor in the campaign of the Charcas, was possibly illiterate and of a very humble background. His marriage, which was authorised by Gasca, confirms that he played a more significant role in the civil war, and he may well have been one of the loyalist informers in the rebel encampment; for at Jaquijahuana he is not listed among the captains or principal commanders.

The racist attitudes of the colonists were even more apparent with regard to the *mestizos*. The princess’s eldest son Juan had been born in Cuzco in

1536 and had been raised by her, together with her two other sons from her marriage to Bustinza. Though recognised by his father Serra de Leguizamón, he would never be legitimised by him. It was a fate he shared with his cousin and childhood companion Garcilaso de la Vega, both of whom by blood were Inca princes and in turn hidalgos in Spain – a racial and social ambiguity which would constrain them all their lives. ‘The children of Spaniards and Indians are called mestizos,’ Garcilaso wrote in his old age, ‘which is to say we are of mixed race, and is a term invented by the early Spaniards who had children by Indians; and as it was a name given us by our fathers I was proud to call myself as such ... though now in the Indies it is regarded as a term of inferiority.’⁴⁵

Pedro de Cieza de León recorded that he knew of encomenderos who had fathered some fifteen children by Indian women. As mestizos the princess’s children were deprived of the legal rights of even the humblest colonist, based on the premise that their divided loyalty represented a potential political threat, a situation reflected in a decree issued at Valladolid in 1549 by the emperor which prohibited mestizos from holding public office, and also denied them the right to inherit their father’s encomiendas or carry arms. Their exclusion from the wealth of the colony would also be apparent in its social hierarchy and racism – a prejudice from which Garcilaso suffered at the hands of his father’s Spanish wife, who reduced his Inca mother to the role of virtual servant before she eventually married an obscure immigrant.

There is, however, little evidence in the various testimonials of the conquistadores to suggest that they regarded their mestizo children with anything other than affection, as is evident in the will of Alonso de Mesa, all of whose children were mestizos. Though maintaining their Spanish identity, the surviving veterans of Cajamarca after years of cohabitating with their Indian women were themselves by then as Indian as their mestizo children, speaking with fluency both quéchua and aimára, the principal languages of their tributary vassals, and participating in many of the native customs.

Judging by the various petitions made to the Crown by the mestizos and their Inca relatives it would be the conquistadores, rather than the colony’s missionaries or officials, who would testify on their behalf. On two occasions Serra de Leguizamón testified in petitions to King Philip II. ‘I

know and well understand,' he declared in one of the petitions on behalf of Doña Beatriz's niece María, one of the Emperor Manco's daughters, 'that the royal person of the King Don Felipe, our lord, is a Christian king and prince ... and the merits of the said Manco Inca at the time of the conquest are known to this witness when we made much of this realm's discovery ... and being, as I am, informed of the poverty of his daughter Doña María Coya who has not sufficient income to sustain her ... I ask you grant her your benevolence, as it is something she deserves and in which Your Majesty will be well served.'⁴⁶ On behalf of Atahualpa's two sons, Francisco and Diego, he declared that should the king award them an encomienda with which to support themselves, 'it would be a just and saintly thing'.⁴⁷

Other than her three sons the princess's immediate family consisted of two daughters of her half-brother Manco, Usezino and Ancacica, whom she had sheltered and brought up as her own children after his flight from Cuzco. The conquistadore Francisco de Illescas, a frequent visitor to her mansion, recalled that apart from the two young princesses various other relatives of hers were also lodged there.

In October 1555 when the Emperor Charles V announced his abdication in the great hall of the palace at Brussels, bestowing the crown of Spain and of the Indies on his son Philip II, the Princess Doña Beatriz was thirty-five years old. One of the last decrees the emperor had signed before travelling to his self-imposed exile in Extremadura had authorised the appointment of a viceroy for his Peruvian territories. At the time of the marqués of Cañete's arrival at Lima, in 1556, bringing with him one of the largest retinues of officials and attendants ever seen, the only nominal resistance that existed to Spain's sovereignty of her colony was in the Andean region of Vilcabamba – by then virtually an independent Inca kingdom. Since the Emperor Manco's death, his 23-year-old son Sayri Túpac had ruled the remnants of his army of warriors from his fortified mountain enclave, and had repeatedly refused to negotiate a peace settlement with the Spaniards. The presence of his warriors in the vicinity of Cuzco had led to a number of attacks on travellers on the roads from the city to Lima.

One of Cañete's first acts was to write to Doña Beatriz asking her help to persuade her nephew Sayri Túpac to receive his envoys. The delegation that subsequently left Cuzco for Vilcabamba, and which also included the

princess's husband Diego Hernández, the chronicler Betanzos and two Dominican friars, was led by her 21-year-old son Juan Serra de Leguizamón, as two of Sayri Túpac's warriors record:

... as I was at the time with Sayri Túpac Inca in the Andes [Vilcabamba] and at war, I saw the Friar Melchor [de los Reyes] and another friar companion of his, and also Juan de Betanzos, and that they went to where the Inca was, but he did not wish Betanzos or any other person enter where he was, and so the friars went ahead alone, and Betanzos returned [to Cuzco] – Chasca, Indian.

As warrior in the service of the Inca Sayri Túpac, in his company I saw Juan Serra enter, as he was his first cousin the Inca received him well, and also out of respect to his mother Doña Beatriz Yupanqui, his aunt. And also entered there the Friar Melchor. And I heard Juan Serra say to Sayri Túpac that if he left the viceroy the marqués of Cañete would give him many Indians and houses for his people and many clothes and other goods, so that he would be content; and all this Juan Serra told him many times and in my presence, and I also heard him say the same to his warrior chiefs. I further witnessed Juan Serra take part in the treaty and discussions with Sayri Túpac, and the Inca sent him him twice to the lord marqués about his leaving, and Juan Serra came two times to see the Inca, bringing with him payment and presents – Inca Paucar Yupanqui.⁴⁸

Though in his history the chronicler Betanzos claimed the credit for the negotiations with Sayri Túpac, in fact he had been turned away by his captains, as Juan Serra de Leguizamón's testimonial shows. In October 1557, leaving behind his younger full-blooded brother Túpac Amaru and his half-brother Titu Cusi Yupanqui to guard his mountain realm, the Inca finally began his progress from Vilcabamba accompanied by his daughter and young sister-wife Cusi Huar cay (Doña María) and several hundred of his warriors. The caravan of litters that would take him and his family to the valley of Andahuaylas was escorted by his cousin on horseback and by Hernández. Ordering his cousin Juan to ride ahead to Lima to inform the Viceroy of his arrival, in January 1558 Sayri Túpac entered the capital of the viceroyalty, at whose gates he was met by the cabildo of the city. Cañete received him with honour as an equal, seating him by his side in the audience chamber of his palace.

Garcilaso de la Vega recorded that on the night of a banquet given by the Archbishop of Lima, in which Sayri Túpac was presented with the documents awarding him a pardon and the grant of his encomiendas of Indians, he had observed in quéchua that he had traded what had once been the empire of Tahuantinsuyo for the equivalent of a thread of the cloth that covered the dining table. The encomiendas awarded him and his descendants in perpetuity included much of the Yucay valley, which had once formed part of the lands of his grandfather the Emperor Huayna Cápac's panaca of Tumibamba, and which Pizarro had appropriated for himself.

Sayri Túpac's transformation into a Castilian encomendero would be completed on his later arrival in the ancient capital of his ancestors with his baptism and Christian marriage to his sister, for which a special dispensation from Rome would eventually be secured by King Philip II. Conveyed in a litter in accordance with Inca custom, he made a tour of the little that by then remained of the monuments of the city in the company of his cousin, to whom, the conquistadore Juan de Pancorbo recalled, 'he showed great love'.⁴⁹ Thousands of his subjects from across the former Inca empire made pilgrimages to the city to do him homage during his stay at his aunt Doña Beatriz's mansion. Among the relatives who came to render him homage was the nineteen-year-old Garcilaso de la Vega. Before his departure to his encomienda in the Yucay he gave his cousin Juan sole legal right to administer his lands and wealth, and also dictated a will, witnessed by Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and Diego Hernández, in which he left Juan 1,000 pesos of gold in gratitude 'for the work he has done for me and for his service to me'.⁵⁰ The heir to his considerable fortune he named as his only child and daughter who had been baptised with him, and who had been christened Doña Beatriz Clara in honour of his aunt.

Some time after the Inca's departure from Cuzco, Doña Beatriz was once more faced with the harrowing experience of witnessing the mummy of her father displayed for private viewing in the mansion of the city's governor Juan Polo de Ondegardo. It was an event he proudly recorded several years later:

... being at the time in charge of the government of these provinces, some twelve or thirteen years ago, with much diligence and through various sources, I was able to discover the said bodies ... some of them

so well embalmed and so well maintained as at the time of their deaths; and four of them, which were those of Huayna Cápac and Amaru Topa Inca and Pachacuti Inca, and that of the mother of Huayna Cápac, who was called Mama Ocllo, and the others, I discovered in bronze cages that had been secretly buried; and also among them I discovered the ashes of Túpac Inca Yupanqui in a small earthen jar, wrapped in rich cloth and with his insignia; for it was this mummy, I had heard, Juan Pizarro burnt, believing that treasure had been buried with it.⁵¹

Though the governor Vaca de Castro at one time had the mummies in his possession, and shamelessly charged Indians to view them, nothing is known of what became of them till Ondegardo's announcement of their discovery. It seems more than likely that their location had been revealed to him by the Inca Sayri Túpac on the advice of the Dominican Melchor de los Reyes, who had instructed him in his conversion to Christianity. Whatever the truth of the matter, they remained in near perfect condition in Ondegardo's mansion until their removal to Lima on the instructions of Cañete, where they would eventually be buried in the grounds of the city's hospital of San Andrés. With silent resignation the princess accepted the sacrilege. Her only consolation was the reward Cañete gave her for her collaboration, of the encomienda of Juliaca, on the northern shores of Lake Titicaca, the lands of which had formerly belonged to her guardian the cacique Cariapasa.

The role her son Juan had played in the negotiations with the Inca was also rewarded by Cañete, but only with the virtually insignificant encomienda at Písac in the Yucay, valued at less than 400 pesos of silver annually. It was a pitiful recognition of his services, and is clear evidence of the prevalent discrimination against his mestizo origin. All the witnesses to his testimonial record his poverty and dependence on his parents, among them the conquistadore Francisco de Villafuerte, who recalled that he had spent a period in jail at Cuzco for failing to pay a debt of 70 pesos of silver.⁵² He appears to have led the life of a virtual recluse at his small encomienda, which lay in one of the most beautiful Andean valleys below the Inca mountain ruins that had once been the summer retreat of his grandfather Huayna Cápac.

Till his death at the age of twenty-eight Juan Serra de Leguizamón remained Písac's encomendero, living on the encomienda with his wife

Doña María Ramírez, whom he had married at Lima at the time he had accompanied his cousin the Inca to the viceregal capital. Nothing is known of his bride's family, nor whether she was Spanish or mestiza. Two children were born of the marriage: Don Juan-Pablo and Doña Bernardina. The small colonial township of Písac, built by Jesuit missionaries and by his son, and whose colourful Sunday market and Inca ruins are today one of the most popular tourist attractions near Cuzco, is all that remains of his legacy.

Shortly after the death of her son, the uncertainty and fears of the princess's past life once more resurrected themselves in the guise of her elderly and by now corrupt Spanish husband and in the ensuing court case that would arise after his death, presided over by the then mayor of the city, the man she least wished to witness her humiliation (events recorded in a manuscript which the author discovered, together with Doña Beatriz's will, at the Archivo General de la Nación at Lima).⁵³

Only after the death of her husband did the princess learn that he had mortgaged all her property for the sum of 1,700 pesos of silver. She admitted the fact to the court, making her mark on several documents acknowledging her husband's action, but claimed she had been deceived by him, and that at his death she had been forced to purchase her own mansion from his heirs, together with various other properties. It was then that the mayor, who was her old seducer Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, addressed her in her own language, telling her that the evidence against her was irrefutable. He had, however, he added, decided to deny any demand to auction her possessions until her appeal to the Crown had been heard.

It was an order, however, that would not prevent her forcible eviction several months later from her mansion on the instructions of Serra de Leguizamón's successor as mayor, which saw all her worldly goods and possessions taken from her mansion by the city's bailiffs. Even her appeal to her neighbour the alderman de los Ríos, in whose house she had been married to Hernández so many years before, fell on deaf ears. A royal decree of King Philip II, dated 20 August 1570, reached the Viceroy only after all her belongings had been auctioned off:

Don Felipe, by the Grace of God, king of Castile, León and of the Indies. Be it known to all and sundry that Miguel Ruiz, advocate in the name of Doña Beatriz Manco Cápac, daughter of Huayna Cápac, once lord of these realms of Peru, to whom by royal warrant the encomiendas of

Urcos and Juliaca were awarded, in the petition presented to us, stated that she was in dire need of sustenance, and that each day her creditors sold her farmlands and belongings, extracting the revenues from her Indians, and taking possession of her house; and that not only because she is the daughter of Huayna Cápac, but as an encomendera she asks and begs of us our royal decree: that no single individual, under any circumstance, or in lieu of any debt, be entitled to take possession of her house, not of one single slave or slave woman of hers, nor of the revenues of her encomiendas, and that what has been taken from her be repossessed ... including whatever clothes and other belongings of hers.⁵⁴

The royal decree arrived too late. In the year 1571 the Princess Doña Beatriz was dead. Thousands of her people accompanied her wooden coffin to the monastery of Santo Domingo, where she was buried next to her son Juan on the site where the Inca temple of Coricancha had once stood, and where as a child she had been venerated as the daughter of a living god. Her life, possibly more than that of any other woman in the history of Pizarro's colony, symbolises the vicissitudes of fortune and tragedy, and the ultimate fate that awaited her conquered people.

ELEVEN

The Legacy of Pizarro

I order that my body be buried in the cathedral of this city of Los Reyes in its principal chapel I order be constructed, and that around my tomb be placed eight shields of my coat of arms, sculpted in gold
...

Francisco Pizarro's will

In the summer of 1849, a young Scots laird, researching a history he was planning to write on the last days of the life of the Emperor Charles V, recorded his visit to the monastery of Yuste in northern Extremadura. There, in September 1558, the sovereign of Spain and the Indies died, twenty-nine years after he had awarded Francisco Pizarro at Toledo the right of conquest of the Inca empire:

... in the course of a ride from Madrid to Lisbon, I paid a visit to the Vera of Plasencia. On the evening of the 4th June, halting near the gate of Oropesa to look back over the noble stretch of plain, richly wooded with olive and ilex, which lay behind, and beneath me, I fell into conversation with an aged priest of the town, who sat enjoying the thyme-scented air at the base of a wayside cross. When he learned that I was going to Yuste, he said that he had been a monk there for several years of his life, but that he believed the convent was now in ruins, and scarce worth a visit. Having been lately reading, in the cathedral library of Toledo, the story of the emperor's retirement, as told in the classic page of Siguença, I endeavoured to ascertain from this ancient Jeronymite, whether the traditions of his convent agreed with the narrative of the historian. The history of his order, however, had formed no part of the good friar's reading. He knew, he said, that Charles V had taken the monastic vows in the convent of Yuste, but he did not know whether he had performed his own obsequies or not, nor did he recollect that any anecdotes or traditions respecting him existed among the fraternity.

Next day I struck off the great Badajoz road at Navalmoral, and taking a northern direction across the plain, soon entered the oak forest, which extends to the Vera of Plasencia. Here the track became very narrow and indistinct, and the difficulty of keeping it was so much increased by a storm of rain followed by mist, that nothing but the guidance of a friendly woodsman saved me from the inconveniences of a woodland bivouac. At sunset the clouds cleared away, and as the path led through open glades, or over citrus-covered knolls bare for wood, beautiful prospects opened across the Vera to the hills in whose forest-lap Yuste lay nestling unseen.¹

It had been on the road to the monastery of Yuste in 1556 that the emperor, who had abdicated his throne in favour of his eldest son King Philip II, was greeted in the Extremaduran village of Palenzuela by the elderly Don Pedro de la Gasca, whom he had rewarded some years previously with the neighbouring bishopric of Plasencia for his great service in Peru. 'He now waited on his benefactor with a magnificent supply of meat, game, and fruit, sufficient to feast the whole of his train.'²

For a considerable time prior to entering the monastery, the emperor had stayed as a guest in the vicinity, at Jarandilla, the fortified castle home of the count of Oropesa, one of whose servants had been the father of Pizarro's missionary friar at Cajamarca, the Dominican Vicente de Valverde.

Two years later the most powerful monarch Europe had ever seen was dead, achieving in his lifetime the maintenance of his vast empire inherited from his Burgundian and Habsburg father and his Castilian grandmother, Queen Isabella, who had bestowed on him Spain's colonies of the New World. Among those attending the emperor at his deathbed were the count of Oropesa and his younger brother, Don Francisco de Toledo, who ten years later King Philip II would appoint Viceroy of Peru. It would be he, more than anyone, who would bring to fruition Pizarro's legacy: laying the administrative and social foundations that would remain virtually unchanged until the nineteenth century War of Independence, and the agrarian reforms in Peru and Bolivia almost a hundred years later.

His governorship of New Castile would also mark the end of the Inca dynasty, relegating its descendants to little more than caciques of their former subject tribes or to the obscurity of an Andean peasantry, some of

whose descendants can be seen to this day taking their herds of llamas and produce into Cuzco's great central square, where their last sovereign was killed at the hands of Toledo.

At the time of Don Francisco de Toledo's arrival at Lima in 1571, the Emperor Charles V had been dead for thirteen years; Cervantes was twenty-four years old, and the young Cretan painter Domenico Theotocopoulos, known as El Greco, the Greek, had as yet to reach Spain from Italy; neither had the great monastery palace of the Escorial been completed, being already eight years under construction.

Toledo, a celibate, was aged fifty-four and a monk of the Military Order of Alcántara. He proved to be one of the foremost colonial administrators of the Indies, and in turn possibly the most ruthless in his treatment of the remnants of the Inca royal family, initiating a genocide that would see their descendants exiled or die from sheer poverty. His purpose was the reform of the colony's bureaucracy which had suffered from the nepotism and scandals of his predecessors as viceroy, the marqués of Cañete and the count of Nieva, both of whom had died at Lima: the former as a result of a stroke after being refused an extension to his governorship, and the latter from a head wound after falling from the balcony of his mistress's mansion.

The reforms Toledo implemented in the twelve years of his governorship affected not only the administration of the colony, but the reorganisation of its Indian labour. Two other factors that left a lasting influence on the colony were his establishment of the Inquisition at Lima, and the arrival of the Jesuit Order, which was to dominate the future intellectual life of Peru, and which would be responsible for much of the rare humanity shown the Andean people in their evangelisation.

The colony Toledo had come to govern was a land still virtually unexplored, varying in climate and terrain, from its mountain enclave of Cuzco to its eastern forests of the Antisuyo, to as far south as the Bolivian altiplano and the pampas of Argentina, whose city of Mendoza had been colonised by settlers from Chile, bringing with them the vines that would later found the great vineyards in the foothills of the Andes. In the sub-tropical valleys vast crops of coca were produced, together with fruit and tobacco – known in Spain as the 'Holy Plant' because of its reputed medicinal properties. In the great plains and on mountain terraces maize and potatoes, then unknown in Europe, were grown. From the rivers, lakes

and Pacific coast, all types of fish were also brought into the markets at Cuzco and other settlements. Though llama meat, guinea pig and maize were the staple diet of the early settlers, within twenty years of the Conquest almost every European crop, livestock and working animal had been imported into Peru. It was a wealth that would transform the *encomiendas* into farmland and their Spanish masters into landed and mostly absentee aristocrats.

From the earliest days of the Conquest African slaves from the Isthmus had formed part of the colony's labour force, mainly in the sub-tropical valleys of the Andes and coastal regions of Lima, Guayaquil and Cartagena. Their ownership was widespread, and many were purchased solely for domestic service. Nor was their ownership confined to *encomenderos*, for it was also common among merchants and the religious Orders. A number of freed Negroes are recorded as having later found employment as blacksmiths, tailors and carpenters in Lima and Cuzco. The social structure of Peru, like that of the other colonies of the Indies, had been inherited from Spain, and varied only in the pre-eminence accorded its conquistadores and *encomenderos*. In every walk of life the language and culture of its settlers were central to the maintenance of its conquest, influencing many of its surviving Inca lords and caciques to imitate their conquerors in dress and customs. Since few Indians learned to speak Castilian, they became dependent on their interpreters in matters of law, which only led to their exploitation. Education was virtually restricted to creoles and mestizos and was the responsibility of the religious Orders, as in the case of the Dominican foundation of the University of San Marcos at Lima in 1551.

The Dominicans, who had dominated the colony's religious life since the earliest days of the Conquest, saw their influence further enhanced by the establishment of the Inquisition. At the first *auto-da-fé* at Lima in the winter of 1573, among the Holy Office's victims was the incongruous-sounding Frenchman Mateo Salade.³ Eight years later the English corsairs John Oxenham, Thomas Gerard and the Irishman John Butler were paraded as penitent heretics in the same square.⁴ Three future saints of the Catholic Church would make their ministry at Lima: the Spaniard Toribio de Mogrovejo, a former professor of law at the University of Salamanca, was appointed Archbishop of Lima in 1580; Martín de Porres, the son of an *hidalgo* and a freed Negress, born at Lima in 1579; and the creole Isabel de

Flores, who would be known as Santa Rosa de Lima and who had also been born in the viceregal capital, in 1586.

The development of the colony had also seen its wealth become increasingly dependent on its mining industry: its silver mines discovered in the Bolivian region of the Charcas had attracted many new immigrants to its mining settlement and city of Potosí. In the chronicles of the Indies the city symbolised the untold wealth of the New World; so significant was it that even the great sixteenth-century Jesuit explorer Mateo Ricci illustrated it in his map of the world commissioned by the emperors of China.

Potosí's fame derived from a mountain lying in the foothills of the Andes known as the Cerro Rico, the rich mountain, because of the abundance of its silver. It was discovered in 1545 at the time of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion by a yanacona named Hualpa, the son of a cacique from the Cuzco region, who would end his days in bondage to a succession of Spanish overseers.

In 1572, by the time of the viceroy Toledo's visit to the city founded at the foot of the mountain, its inhabitants were to number some one hundred and twenty thousand Spaniards, Indians and mestizos – by far the largest population of any city in the Americas and greater than most of the capitals of Europe. The Emperor Charles V had awarded the city the title of 'Imperial' and his own coat of arms; his son Philip II later added to the royal arms the motto: 'For the powerful emperor, for the wise king, this lofty mountain of silver will conquer the world.'

Men and women from every region of Spain crossed the cordillera in search of Potosí's windswept and desolate location. Some eighty churches were built in the city. Miguel de Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, who had failed to secure an appointment as corregidor of the neighbouring city of La Paz, described Potosí as 'a sanctuary for bandits, a safeguard for assassins, a cloak and mask for card sharpers, the aspiration of courtesans, the common disappointment of many, and the special remedy of a few'.⁵ By the end of the century it possessed thirty-six gambling houses, where some eight hundred professional gamblers and prostitutes plied their trade. The chronicler Bartolomé Arzáns de Orúa y Vela, who recorded Potosí's celebrations to mark the feast of Corpus Christi, described how its Spanish miners would lavish their new-found wealth on 'fountains spouting the finest European wines, the men with chains of gold around their necks, and their dark-skinned mestizo women wearing slippers tied with strings of silk

and pearls, their hair adorned with rubies and precious stones'. And as a final demonstration of their allegiance to their Christian faith 'they would cover the streets with bars of solid silver, from one end to another'.⁶

Goods of every type were to be found in Potosí's markets: 'embroidery of silk, gold and silver from France, tapestries and mirrors from Flanders, religious paintings from Rome, crystal and glass from Venice, vanilla and cocoa from the Caribbean islands and pearls from Panama'.⁷ Portuguese traders also plied their wares – illicit merchandise transported across the selvas and cordillera of the Andes from their port at Rio de Janeiro. There they named the beaches in honour of Potosí's Virgin of Copacabana, whose reliquary was situated on the southern shores of Lake Titicaca, her gilded Indian features almost hidden by the jewelled offerings of her penitents, who came in their thousands to offer thanks or beg her for good fortune. Describing another of Potosí's religious festivals the chronicler Arzáns wrote that the city's nobility, numbering thirty counts of Castile, 'were to form themselves into bands of men and women, wearing their costumes, with jewels and plumes and waving flags, and just to wrench these flags from one another they knifed and killed each other, leaving more than a hundred dead, men and women'. The Sevillian Domingo de Santo Tomás, the future bishop of its province of Las Charcas, was to refer to Potosí's great mountain in his interview with the Council of the Indies as 'a mouth of hell consuming thousands of innocent Indians'.⁸

The viceroy Toledo assigned 95,000 Indians to the Cerro Rico's mines to labour as *mitimae*, working for one year, from sunset to sunrise. For every ten Indians only seven were to survive in what became a rabbit warren of human suffering, consoled solely by their addiction to coca, their labour leaving the young miners with the broken and haggard features of old men. Their addiction to coca also established an industry for the narcotic's transportation and sale from the Andean sub-tropical valleys of the Yungas, near the city of La Paz which acted as a staging post for the mines, and from the rich harvests of the Cuzco region.

By lamplight and working with pickaxes, day and night, at any one time some four and a half thousand Indians mined the silver which was then taken by mule pack and llamas to the city's Casa de la Moneda for minting. In a room with a stone floor and cedar wood beams, mules pulled the giant wheels that stretched the stream of molten metal through cylinders into bars

and coins, one fifth of which was put aside for the Crown and transported to the Pacific harbour of Arica. The treasure was then taken by small barques to Lima's port of Callao, from where it was transported on caravels that would sail the fifteen days to Panama. There it was again carried by hundreds of mules, this time across the Isthmus to the Atlantic port of Nombre de Dios, from where the galleons sailed to Havana to await the treasure fleets from Mexico, before finally crossing the Atlantic to the Andalusian port of San Lúcar de Barrameda.

By the end of the eighteenth century the great mountain was exhausted of its silver: its city and convents, where nuns had once prayed for the souls of their governors, left barren and deserted, its churches and palaces carved with lotus flowers, devils and mermaids, emblems of the moon and of the sun, of winged angels and sad-eyed Indian Madonnas, the sole remnants of its former glory.

Fourteen months after his arrival at Lima the viceroy Toledo left his capital on a tour of inspection of his colony that would last for almost five years. After a sojourn at Huamanga, the present-day city of Ayacucho, he travelled south to Cuzco where he was met on the outskirts of the city by a delegation of its officials, among them the city's six surviving conquistadores: Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, Diego de Trujillo, Alonso de Mesa, Pedro Alonso Carrasco, Hernando de Solano and Juan de Pancorbo, who made him a gift of a roan stallion, its leather saddle trimmed in gold. The reception given him was as lavish as the city had accorded Gonzalo Pizarro almost a quarter of a century previously, after his victory at Huarina. Lodged in the mansion of Juan de Pancorbo, and then in that of the encomendero Diego de Silva, Toledo watched the processions of Spaniards and Inca nobles that passed his balcony to honour him. For several days he was fêted with cane and bull fights arranged by the encomenderos, in which several of Pizarro's elderly conquistadores took part.

The festivities and honours shown him would, however, do little to deter him from his planned reforms of the city's cabildo and its ruling hierarchy of encomenderos. Within the week he ordered its aldermen to elect a landless soldier as one of its mayors. Though the cabildo's members had agreed among themselves to vote against the election, they eventually succumbed to Toledo's command once he ordered his personal guard to enter their chamber and threaten them with exile to Chile. His action was

repeated throughout the colony, and brought to an end the political monopoly and judicial power the encomenderos had enjoyed in the cities and regions of their landholdings. Like the priest-governor Pedro de la Gasca, Toledo earned both the antagonism as well as the grudging respect of the colony's grandees, conscious of their inability to manipulate a government they had always held as an extension of their own privileged status. From ordering the acquisition of new premises for Cuzco's jail, to the widening of its central square, his reforms were greeted with approval by the city's settlers. Toledo also demanded funds from the city's cabildo for the rebuilding of Cuzco's cathedral which he ordered should take six years to complete, but which in effect took eighty-two years, and is regarded by the art historian Harold Wethey as 'the finest church of the western hemisphere'.⁹ His nomination of Juan Polo de Ondegardo, a former governor of La Plata, as Cuzco's governor was also characteristic of the appointments he made, of men who were lawyers by profession yet who were also experienced administrators, and of an intellectual calibre almost unknown among their predecessors.

Another jurist who had accompanied Polo de Ondegardo to Cuzco was Juan de Matienzo, who for many years had also resided at La Plata, where he had been a member of its audiencia which had been established in 1559. Three other figures to have an equal influence on Toledo's understanding of the history and culture of his colony were the cartographer and explorer Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the Jesuit José de Acosta, whom he would later meet at La Plata, and the Andalusian curate priest of Cuzco, Cristóbal de Molina. Acosta, who had been born into a *converso* family in Medina del Campo, was a theologian and naturalist who arrived in Peru in the wake of the first Jesuit mission in 1572, where he would spend fourteen years before eventually returning to Spain after visiting Mexico in 1586. Four years later he published *Historia Moral y Natural de las Indias*, regarded as one of the greatest naturalist accounts of the New World. He died at Salamanca in 1600.

Toledo's interest in Inca history was in part influenced by his desire to justify Spain's conquest, by proving that its dynasty was not the natural lords of its empire, which they had won and governed by force of arms: a premise he saw as a means of countering the condemnation levelled against Spain's right of conquest. In his efforts to gather as much information as

possible he commissioned the conquistadore Diego de Trujillo to dictate his memoir of the Conquest, and also Pedro Pizarro who resided at Arequipa.

However, it was the history he requested Sarmiento de Gamboa to compile that came to be regarded by modern scholars as possibly the most authoritative account of pre-Colombian Inca history. A native of Galicia, who four years previously had been the cartographer and commander of a naval expedition that had discovered the Solomon Islands of the western Pacific, Sarmiento de Gamboa had formerly lived in Mexico where he had been imprisoned for a brief period by the Inquisition on a charge of necromancy – a charge he would later face again after his arrival in Lima. Ignoring the charges, Toledo, who recognised his ability and scholarship, invited him to accompany him on his tour of inspection. The history he commissioned him to write in Cuzco, and which was sent to King Philip II as part of the report he had prepared, was discovered by a German scholar in the library of Göttingen University in 1892.

Much of Sarmiento de Gamboa's information was based on a series of inquiries conducted by Toledo at Cuzco and in the Yucay valley, and on the evidence of thirty-seven Inca lords of the city. His manuscript, accompanied by a series of cloth paintings of Inca genealogies also in his own hand, was read to the conquistadores Alonso de Mesa, Juan de Pancorbo, Pedro Alonso Carrasco and Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, who submitted a brief outline of their own understanding of the Inca dynasty.¹⁰ The conquistadores also added their names to a lengthy statement written by Cuzco's governor Polo de Ondegardo, in which the practice of human sacrifice by the Incas is recorded, but which from its general tone sounds to have had more to do with its principal author's desire to substantiate Toledo's premise.¹¹

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's varied life later saw him serving in the colony's flotilla of ships in pursuit of Sir Francis Drake after his raid on the port of Callao, and later as governor of the settlement at the Straits of Magellan. On his return to Spain his ship was captured by English corsairs and he was taken prisoner to London where he was granted an audience with Queen Elizabeth I, with whom he recorded he conversed in Latin, and who, at the instigation of Sir Walter Raleigh, ordered his release. A great deal of the knowledge Raleigh acquired about Peru he obtained from Sarmiento de Gamboa, knowledge that would influence his search for the

legendary kingdom of El Dorado and his exploration of Guyana, the name of which was a misspelling of the Emperor Huayna Cápac's name.

The lost city which Raleigh searched for in vain may well have been the Emperor Manco's fortress town of Vilcabamba; Sarmiento de Gamboa may somewhat maliciously have led him to believe that it was the fabled refuge of one of the Inca emperor's sons. But it was not in the region of Guyana as de Gamboa well knew, but near Cuzco, for he himself had visited it during Toledo's subsequent campaign in the area – and he knew too that it possessed no gold except what the Spaniards had captured. Other than a record of his appointment to a command of an escort of the Indies treasure fleet, nothing more is known of Sarmiento de Gamboa's life, nor of the year or place of his death.

Toledo's prolonged stay in Cuzco had also decided him on dealing once and for all with the remnants of the Inca rebel dynasty, an intention to which Sarmiento de Gamboa had possibly alluded in his conversations with Raleigh. Though few in number, since the death of the Inca Sayri Túpac the rebel warriors had maintained a defiant independence under the successive rule of his brothers Titu Cusi and Túpac Amaru. The failure of his negotiations led Toledo to order a military campaign against Vilcabamba.

By April 1572, the largest army ever seen at Cuzco since the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro was mustered on the outskirts of the city. Its command was given to Martín Hurtado de Arbieta and Juan Álvarez Maldonado. Toledo also appointed as captains his nephew Jerónimo de Figueroa and the captain of his personal guard Martín de Lóyola, a great-nephew of St Ignatius, founder of the Jesuit Order. Each of Cuzco's encomenderos, in lieu of their feudal obligation to the Crown, was obliged to accompany the expedition with a contingent of their Indians warriors. Several thousand Cañari and Chachapoya Indians were also assembled under their caciques as auxiliaries. Toledo also ordered the conquistadores Alonso de Mesa, Hernando de Solano and Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, who had entered Vilcabamba some forty years previously, to accompany the expedition as advisors. A total of 250 Spaniards in full armour rode out of the city to a fanfare of trumpets and the beating of drums.

The Inca Prince Túpac Amaru and his small army of warriors abandoned Vilcabamba and attempted to flee to the Amazon, seeking refuge with its Manarí Indians, who were his allies. Eventually, he was captured by his

mestizo cousins Juan Balsa and Martín de Bustinza, who had acted as scouts and as captains of the Indian militias. Brought into the presence of Lóyola, together with his women and children, he was bound and taken as his prisoner to the Spanish encampment.

... leaving a garrison of 50 soldiers we marched to Cuzco with the Inca Túpac Amaru and his chieftains who were prisoners. On reaching the archway of Carmenca, which is the entrance to the city of Cuzco, the commander Juan Álvarez Maldonado, as adjutant, chained Túpac Amaru and his captains together. The Inca was dressed in a mantle and doublet of crimson velvet. His shoes were made of wool of the country, of several colours. The crown or headdress called *mascapaicha* was on his head with a fringe over his forehead, this being the royal insignia of the Inca ... and thus they proceeded in triumph directly to the palace where the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo then lived. It formed the houses of de Silva y Guzman and Juan de Pancorbo ... in line of order the commander marched there in triumph and presented his prisoners to the Viceroy.¹²

Several eyewitnesses record that it was Lóyola who led the Inca prince who was chained by the neck, and who struck him brutally because he refused to take his headdress off in obeisance to the Viceroy as they passed his balcony. Imprisoned in what had once been the palace of Paullu Inca, Túpac Amaru awaited his fate as the city's missionaries attempted to convert him to Christianity.

At the end of two or three days, after being taught and catechised, Túpac Amaru was baptised. This was done by friars of Our Lady of Merced ... the Inca was taken from the fortress through the public streets of the city with a guard of 400 Cañaris armed with lances ... he was accompanied by the priests Alonso de Barzana, of the Company of Jesus, and by Father Molina, one on either side of him ... they walked along with him, instructing him and saying things to him of much consolation to the soul, until they reached the scaffold, which was erected in the centre of the great square, facing the cathedral ...

The open spaces, roofs, and windows in the parishes of Carmenca and San Cristóbal were so crowded with spectators that if an orange had been thrown down it could not have reached the ground anywhere, so closely were the people packed. As the executioner, who was a Cañari Indian,

brought out his knife with which he was to behead the Inca, an extraordinary occurrence took place. The whole crowd of natives raised such a cry of grief that it seemed as if the Day of Judgement had come, and all those of Spanish race did not fail to show their feelings by shedding tears of grief and pain. When the Inca beheld the scene, he only raised his right hand on high and let it fall. With a lordly mind he alone remained calm, and all the noise was followed by a silence so profound that no living soul moved, either among those who were in the square or among those at a distance.

The Inca then spoke with a self-possession unlike one about to die. He said that now his course was run, and that he merited his death. He besought and charged all present who had children, on no account to curse them for any bad conduct, but only to chastise them. For when he was a child, having angered his mother, she had put a curse on him by saying that he would end by being put to death and would not die a natural death; and it had come about. The priests Carrera and Fernández rebuked him, saying that his fate was the will of God ...

It was then the Bishop of Popayán, the Provincial of the Order of Merced, the Prior of the Order of San Agustín, the Prior of Santo Domingo, the Provincial of San Francisco, the Rector of the Company of Jesus, all went to the Viceroy. They went down on their knees and besought him to show mercy and spare the life of the Inca. They urged he should be sent to Spain to be judged by the king in person. But no prayers could prevail with the Viceroy.

Juan de Soto, chief officer of the court, was sent on horseback with a pole to clear the way, galloping furiously and riding down all kinds of people. He ordered the Inca's head to be cut off at once in the name of the Viceroy ... the executioner then came forward and, taking the hair in his left hand, he severed the head with a knife at one blow, and held it high for all to see. As the head was severed the bells of the cathedral began to ring, and were followed by those of all the monasteries and parish churches in the city ... when the head was cut off it was put on a pole and set up on the same scaffold in the great square ... there it became each day more beautiful ... and the Indians came by night to worship the head of their Inca ...¹³

The Inca Túpac Amaru was twenty-eight years old. As he had walked to meet his death through the streets of Cuzco a Spaniard recalled that his sister the Princess Doña María, who was witnessing the spectacle from the window of a house, cried out to him: 'Where are they taking you, my brother, prince and sole king of Tahuantinsuyo?'¹⁴ A Mercedarian friar recalled that several nights after the execution Mansio Serra de Leguizamón's grandson, Juan-Pablo, having woken at dawn, gazed out from his bedroom window and witnessed the thousands of Indians kneeling as they worshipped the bloodied features of his cousin. It was a macabre and humiliating end to a dynasty which had attempted to maintain the remnants of its sovereignty.¹⁵

In 1581 Francisco de Toledo sailed from Lima's port of Callao for Spain. He was sixty-six years old. In the ten years of his government he had succeeded in setting in train a rigid and far-reaching policy that would be implemented for several generations, stemming the power of the encomenderos, and placing a great number of the colony's Indians in reservations, and awarding them legal rights.

His subsequent attempt after the execution of Túpac Amaru to eradicate the Inca royal family by exile and imprisonment was impeded by King Philip II, who had little sympathy for his methods and the cruelty he demonstrated. The king had been well informed of the opposition to Toledo's action and of the problems it had created among an already volatile and oppressed Indian populace, whose daily genocide was witnessed at Potosí. At his arrival at Lisbon, where Philip had temporarily based his government after his annexation of Portugal to the Castilian Crown, Toledo was met with indifference by his royal master, who refused him the mastership of the Order of Alcántara as a reward for a governorship that had marked the end of Peru's rebellions, and which had in effect consolidated Pizarro's Conquest and legacy.

Six years after the killing of the Inca Túpac Amaru at Cuzco, Hernando Pizarro, the nemesis of most of Pizarro's problems during the Conquest and of his murder, died in their native town of Trujillo in Extremadura. For eighteen years he had been held captive in the castle of La Mota at Medina del Campo for instigating the execution of Diego de Almagro. Almost blind and grotesque looking, as his portrait sculpture in Trujillo's cemetery

shows, Hernando nevertheless possessed remarkable charm and a semblance of culture, for all the sadistic cruelty he had displayed throughout the Conquest.

At the age of fifty-one he married at La Mota his eighteen-year-old niece Doña Francisca, Pizarro's daughter by the Inca Princess Doña Inés, heiress to his name and fortune. A beautiful and well-educated young woman, for nine years she shared her elderly and blind husband's imprisonment, giving birth to two sons and a daughter, ignoring as best she could the presence in the town's convent of Santa Clara of her husband's mistress, who for nine years had previously occupied her bed and also given birth to a son and a daughter.

Eventually pardoned in exchange for his wife's renunciation of much of her father's wealth owed her by the Crown, Hernando was released from his incarceration, where he had lived in a manner befitting his own vast riches, with his servants and minstrels to entertain him. Finally Hernando returned to Trujillo. Honoured and respected by his fellow townsmen, he was a ghost-like figure. His only lasting memorial to the land he had helped conquer was the construction of the huge palace he and his young wife commissioned to be built in Trujillo's main square, where their carved features and those of her parents are sculpted, bordering her father's coat of arms awarded him by a grateful emperor. His fortune, which had made him one of the wealthiest men in Spain, was soon after dissipated by his wife's second husband, a man much younger than her, and who was the great nephew of the Isthmian governor Arias Dávila, who had been foremost in attempting to prevent her father's expedition of conquest. It was an irony that was not lost on the few surviving veterans of Panama.

How does one summarise the life of Pizarro? Possibly the only way of making such an assessment, other than by reading the contemporary chroniclers, is to study the evidence of the conquistadores themselves and of the few Inca princes and nobility who recorded their testimonials and petitions to the Crown, few of which have ever been published, and which are to be found in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville.

What these testimonies demonstrate of the Conquest is the fear – if not the outright terror – Pizarro's men experienced when first sighting the massed armies of Inca warriors at Cajamarca and at Cuzco, numbering tens of thousands of men. Equally, as in the case of the testimony of the Inca

Prince Don Diego Cayo, they also show the sheer horror felt by his people on first seeing the bearded and white-skinned Spaniards with their canon,arquebuses and horses, something that can only be compared in terms of simple drama to a modern-day encounter with people from another planet.

In none of these testimonies is Pizarro ever referred to with anything other than respect for his courage and leadership, even among his detractors. He is often simply called the ‘good Lord Governor’, or the ‘good man’. Even Almagro’s supporters could only accuse him of cheating the Crown of its full share of the Cajamarca and Cuzco treasure. His most vitriolic critic the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas, on hearing of his death, remarked that he had been loved by both Indians and Spaniards.¹⁶ His admirers, such as the hardened conquistadore Pedro de Valdivia, the founder of Chile, referred to him as his ‘lord and father’, and on being told of his murder wept like a child. To the Indians he was always the Apu, the Lord, a man they both feared and respected.

None of these testimonies, however, penetrates any further than the general historical perspective, and it is possibly only Pizarro’s young page and kinsman Pedro who manages to scratch through the surface of Pizarro’s taciturn and solitary character. Perhaps it was his reserve and solitary nature – a reserve likely prompted by the stigma of his illegitimacy and a sense of social isolation – which, as was probably also the case with Lawrence of Arabia, inspired his attachment to other worlds and cultures, and an identity he eventually discovered in the land of his conquest.

It is in his birthplace of Trujillo that his image is best conjured amid the alleyways of its winding cobbled streets. Here the few tourists to be seen are the occasional small groups of Peruvians led by a solitary guide to the house where he supposedly lived, or who can be seen gazing at the empty darkened shell of a palace built with the gold and silver of their homeland, or across the great colonnaded square where his bronze equestrian statue stands, defiant and silent. It is an image mirrored in the town’s poorer bars, where farm labourers, their hardy and expressionless faces burnt by sun and wind, drink their anis after their day’s work, some of them young men, and some of them virtually illiterate, and not dissimilar to the handful of veterans who followed him in the conquest of an empire.

And what of Pizarro’s achievement in the context of world history? Pizarro was himself quite honest about his personal motive for his conquest.

When pressed by a missionary to discourage the exploitation of Peru's Indians and to encourage their evangelisation, he replied: 'I did not come here for those reasons; I came here to take away their gold.'¹⁷ As a military commander and Indian fighter Pizarro had no equal. Nor can his achievement at consolidating his conquest in the founding of his colony be denied him. As a man he was an enigma.

For some historians Pizarro's conquest was little more than an act of barbarity and vandalism: an opinion popularised in the eighteenth century in the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire, who initiated the myth of the 'noble savage', and in the twentieth by the French historian Louis Baudin who almost depicted the Incas as a totalitarian socialist society. There is a grain of truth in all such allegations.

Equally, Pizarro was also regarded as their liberator by the caciques of the tribes the Incas had subjugated, as recorded in the words of the lord of the Lupaca nation of Titicaca in his address to his people in their bondage after the capture of Cuzco: 'My brothers, we are no longer living in the time of the Inca, for each and every one of you can go home to your lands.'¹⁸

A murderous freebooter, as described by the great narrative historian William Prescott? Or the Olympian hero portrayed by the much respected Peruvian scholar Raúl Porras Barrenechea? Probably neither. That he was one of the foremost explorers and military leaders of his age, whose name with that of Columbus and Cortés will for centuries haunt the history of Spanish America, yes.

No truer words were spoken than by Pizarro's brother Gonzalo, when after his capture at Jaquijahuana he informed the President Gasca that it had been Pizarro and his brothers who had conquered Peru. And no truer an illustration of the Crown's indifference, if not contempt for its conquistadores is evidenced than in Gasca's reply: 'For this the emperor was both pleased to raise you and your brother from the dust.' In a sense, it marked the beginning of Pizarro's legacy and of the divisions that would grow in the coming years between the new order of colonists and their distant fatherland, and which would lead to their eventual independence by the liberators Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín three centuries later.

And what of the language and culture Pizarro's men brought with them? In terms of twentieth-century world literature alone there would have been no Pablo Neruda in Chile, no Gabriel García Márquez in Columbia, no Luis

Borges in Argentina, no Mario Vargas Llosa in Peru; nor would the world have been enriched by the splendid colonial architecture of Arequipa, or the mestizo carvings of Potosí's church of San Lorenzo, dedicated to the Archangel St Michael and adorned with his figure and that of the Inca sun and moon, which is possibly the finest colonial façade ever carved in the Americas.

The conquest of any people is immoral. Sooner or later, any one of the European powers of the sixteenth century would have conquered and colonised the continent of South America; that it fell to Spain because of its early exploration of the Caribbean was purely incidental. Had Pizarro not led the conquest of the Inca empire another Spanish soldier of fortune would have eventually followed his example. Whether any other European nation or commander would have achieved such ends in less brutal a manner is open to question.

In the first days of the year 1590, a few years after the defeat of the Spanish Armada that was to mark the end of Spain's political hegemony, the last of Pizarro's conquistadores died in the city of Cuzco. His will, addressed to his sovereign, King Philip II, offer an emotional insight into the reality of Pizarro's legacy:

I, the Captain Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, resident of this great city of Cuzco, capital of these kingdoms of Peru, and the first who entered it in the time of its conquest: being as I am, infirm and bedridden yet of sound mind, judgement and memory, and fearful of death as is natural, and which comes when one least expects it, authorise and let it be known that I make this my last will and testament of my own free volition, listing its legacies and codicils in the following order:

Firstly, for the peace of my soul and before beginning my testament I declare that for many years now I have desired to address the Catholic Majesty of Don Felipe, our lord, knowing how Catholic and Most Christian he is, and zealous for the service of God, Our Lord, seeing that I took part in the name of the Crown in the discovery, conquest and settlement of these kingdoms when we deprived those who were the lords Incas, who had ruled them as their own.

And it should be known to His Most Catholic Majesty that we found these realms in such order that there was not a thief, nor a vicious man, nor an adulteress, nor were there fallen women admitted among them, nor were

they an immoral people, being content and honest in their labour. And that their lands, forests, mines, pastures, dwellings and all kinds of produce were regulated and distributed among them in such a manner that each person possessed his own property without any other seizing or occupying it. And that nor were law suits known in respect of such things, and that neither their wars, of which there were many, interfered with the commerce and agriculture of their people. All things, from the greatest to the smallest, had their place and order. And that the Incas were feared, obeyed and respected by their subjects as being very capable and skilled in their rule, as were their governors.

And as we were to dispossess them of their authority in order to subjugate them in the service of God, Our Lord, and take from them their lands and place them under the protection of Your Crown, it was necessary to deprive them entirely of any command over their goods and lands which we seized by force of arms. And as God, Our Lord, had permitted this, it was possible to subjugate this kingdom of so great a multitude of peoples and riches, even though we Spaniards were so few in number, and to make their lords our servants and subjects, as is known.

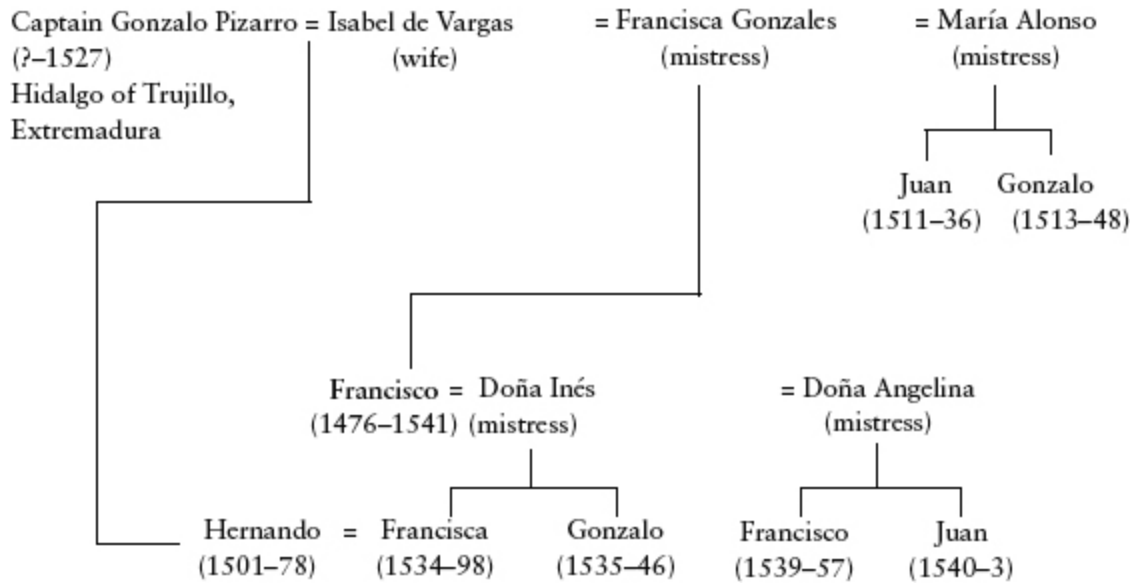
I wish Your Catholic Majesty to understand the motive that moves me to make this statement is the peace of my conscience and because of the guilt I share. For we have destroyed by our evil behaviour such a government as was enjoyed by these natives. They were so free from the committal of crimes and exorbitance, both men and women, that the Indian who possessed one hundred thousand pesos worth of gold or silver in his house left it open by merely placing a small stick across the door, as a sign he was out. And according to their custom no one could enter nor take anything that was there. And when they saw we put locks and keys on our doors they imagined it was from fear of them that they might not kill us, but not because they believed anyone would steal the property of another. So that when they discovered we had thieves among us, and men who sought to force their wives and daughters to commit sin with them, they despised us.

But now they have come to such a pass in offence of God, owing to the bad example we have set them in all things, that these natives from doing no evil have changed into people who now do no good, or very little; something which must touch Your Majesty's conscience as it does mine, as one of the first conquistadores and discoverers, and something that requires to be remedied.

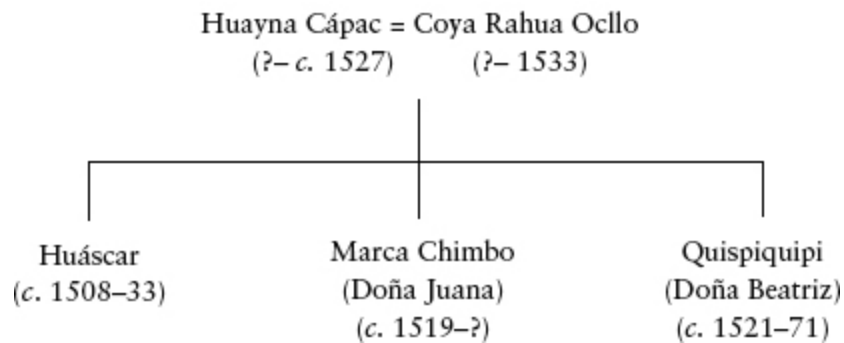
For now those who were once obeyed as kings and lords of these realms, as Incas with power and riches, have fallen to such poverty and necessity that they are the poorest of this kingdom and forced to perform the lowest and most menial of tasks, as porters of our goods and servants of our houses and as sweepers of our streets. And in accordance with the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo's order, exempting them from such service if they acquired a trade, some of them are now shoemakers and work in similar such lowly occupations. And because many such things are permitted it is necessary for Your Majesty to be made aware of this for the sake of his conscience, and of the conscience of those who are guilty of such offences.

I inform Your Majesty that there is no more I can do to alleviate these injustices other than by my words, in which I beg God to pardon me, for I am moved to say this, seeing that I am the last to die of the conquistadores and discoverers, as is well known, and that there is no one left but myself, in this kingdom or out of it.¹⁹

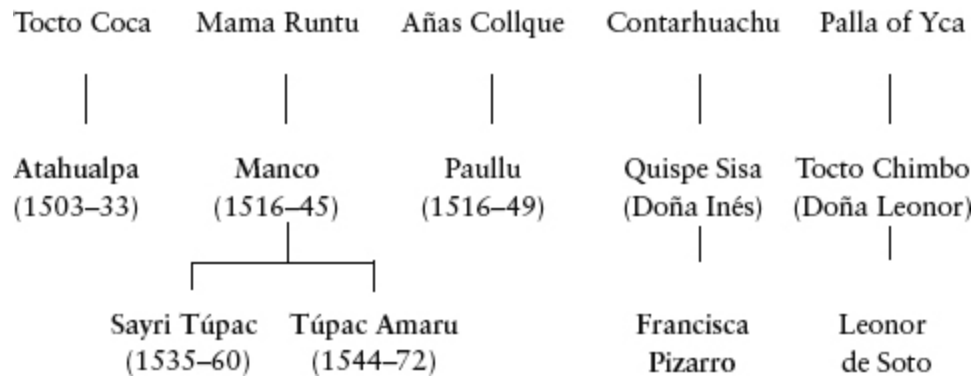
The Pizarro Family



Children of the Emperor Huayna Cápac



Concubines of the Emperor Huayna Cápac



Glossary and Place-names

adelantado	military title, denoting the command of a frontier region
alcalde	mayor
amauta	Inca bards and elders
Andes	mountain range; quéchua name derived from the name Antisuyo
Antisuyo	eastern region of the Inca empire
Apurímac	river on the western approach to Cuzco
Arequipa	city founded in 1540 because of its proximity to the Pacific Ocean
Audiencia de Lima	Royal Chancery Court of the Viceroyalty of Peru; governed by a judiciary and president
ayllu	Inca or Indian family clan
Aimára	language of ethnic tribes of the Cuntisuyo and Collasuyo
cabildo	municipal council of a city
cacique	word of Caribbean Amerindian origin, denoting a tribal chief, introduced by the conquistadores to Peru
Cajamarca	Inca town, central Andes, north of Cuzco
Ca ari	equatorial tribe from the region and city of Tumibamba; auxiliaries of the Spaniards from the earliest days of the Conquest; the Cañari cacique Don Francisco Chilche was awarded by the Crown an encomienda in Cuzco's Yucay valley and the rank of hidalgo
cápac	Inca title; powerful sovereign
captain	commander of a squadron of horse or infantry
Chachapoya	tribe, north Andean region
chicha	maize wine
Chile	southernmost region of Inca empire; its settlement of

Chinchasuyo	Santiago was founded in 1541 by Pedro de Valdivia
Chuquinga	northern region of Inca empire
	Battle of, in Cuntisuyo, 30 March 1554; defeat of royalist army of the Mariscal Alonso de Alvarado by Francisco Hernández Girón
Coca	narcotic plant sacred to the Inca nobility; from which cocaine is derived; grown in abundance by encomenderos in sub-tropical valleys for the mining markets of Potosí
Collasuyo	southern region of Inca empire
converso	convert to Christianity, of Jewish ancestry
Copacabana	religious colonial shrine on a promontory of Lake Titicaca; Aimára name signifies ‘stone from where all can be seen’, and refers to the view from its former Inca temple; early chapel replaced by a sanctuary dedicated to the Virgin, built between 1610 and 1619. A wooden sculpture of the Madonna was donated to the sanctuary by the Indian sculptor Tito Yupanqui in 1592, which adorns its main altar. The Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha y Benavides in the mid-seventeenth century published a history of the sanctuary, <i>Historia del Santuario de Copacabana y del Prado</i>
cordillera	mountain range
corregidor	governor of a city or province
Council of the Indies	governing body of the Indies
Coya	title of the sister-queen of the Inca emperor and of their daughters; used indiscriminately after the Conquest by various illegitimate daughters of Emperor Huayna Cápac
Creole	children of Spaniards born in the Indies
Cristiano viejo	Old Christian lineage
Curaca	quéchua name for a tribal leader
Cuzco	capital of the Inca empire of Tahuantinsuyo, established

	as a Spanish municipality in 1534
Don/Doña	courtesy title of royalty, nobles and principal governors and military commanders, among them Pizarro and Almagro, some of whom were hidalgos. Though in later years its use would become more common, in sixteenth-century Peru only the wives and daughters of hidalgos and conquistadores were addressed as Doña. Though the conquistador Mansio Serra de Leguizamón's courtly relatives were accorded the title of Don, neither he nor his father, though hidalgos, were ever addressed as such. A few of the Inca princes who had become Christians were, however, awarded the title, among them the conquistador's son Don Juan Serra de Leguizamón, as recorded in his father's will
encomienda/	land grant of Indian vassals awarded by the Crown in lieu of feudal
encomendero	service and prerequisite for the evangelisation of their domains. The award could only be inherited by one generation, either by the encomendero's son or grandchild as heir, or by his childless widow and any future husband of hers. No mestizos or illegitimate children were allowed to inherit, unless authorised by the Crown
Guayaquil	equatorial coastal city, founded as Santiago de Guayaquil in 1535
hidalgo	term of ancient Spanish nobility; <i>hijo de algo</i> , son of a man of rank
huaca	Inca nature shrine
Huanacauri	huaca mountain shrine, south-west of Cuzco
Huarina	Battle of, on south-eastern shore of Lake Titicaca, 20 October 1547; defeat of Diego de Centeno's loyalist army by Gonzalo Pizarro
Iaquito	Battle of, near Quito, 18 January 1546; defeat of Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela's army by Gonzalo Pizarro
Inca	name of ruling <i>ayllu</i> of Quéchua tribe; title of emperor

Indian/Indies	name given by the Spaniards to the natives of the Americas and Caribbean islands because of their belief that the continent formed part of India
Inti	Inca sun deity
Isthmus of Panama	known formerly as Castilla del Oro because of its purported abundance of gold, and later as Tierra Firme; port city of Panama was founded on its western coast as a result of the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Núñez de Balboa in 1533
Jaquijahuana	Battle of, in the valley and plain of that name, north of Cuzco, 9 April 1548; defeat of the rebel army of encomenderos by President La Gasca
Jauja	Inca town in central Andes; founded by Pizarro as the first Spanish municipality in 1533
La Paz	city in the Collasuyo; Nuestra Señora de la Paz, Our Lady of the Peace, founded in 1548 to commemorate the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion; administrative capital of Bolivia
La Plata	city in the southern Collasuyo founded in 1538; deriving its name from its abundance of silver mines; known also by its indigenous name of Chuquisaca and Las Charcas, the name of its region; renamed Sucre in 1825, in honour of Mariscal Antonio de Sucre; capital of Bolivia
league	3½ miles
León	capital of the early settlement of Nicaragua
Licentiate	lawyer
Lima	city, capital of Viceroyalty of Peru; name of lands of the Curaca Taulichusco, where Pizarro in 1535 founded the capital of his governorship, and which he named Los Reyes, the City of the Kings, in honour of the Feast of the Epiphany
Lupaca	Aimára tribe of the Cuntisuyo and Collasuyo, though principally of the north and western region of Lake Titicaca

<i>mamacona</i>	virgins of the sun
Manco Cápac	mythical founder of the Inca dynasty; son of the sun and moon; founder of Cuzco
mariscal/marshal	commander of cavalry or army; empowered to act as a legal authority during a campaign
mestizo	of Indian and Spanish parentage
<i>mitimae</i>	labourers of the subject tribes; transported to various regions of the empire for a period of time – <i>mita</i> – by Incas and then Spaniards
Morisco	of Moorish parentage
morrión	curved steel helmet used by conquistadores
Mudéjar	Moors allowed to live in Christian lands; also a term to describe Moorish influence in architecture
mulatto	of Negro and Spanish parentage
Nazca	western region of the Cuntisuyo; pre-Colombian civilisation; site of giant earth carvings
New Castile	Pizarro's governorship of Peru
New Spain	Mexico
New Toledo	governorship awarded Almagro of the region of the Collasuyo
usta	niece or daughter of emperor by a concubine
<i>orejón</i>	name given by the Spaniards to Inca lords because of the gold and silver ear ornaments they wore
Pachacamac	quéchua name for the creator
Pachamama	earth deity
palla	daughter of a cacique
panaca	name for the Inca lineages and their custodians; the spiritual and secular heirs of the emperors, numbering eleven in all at the time of the Conquest
Parinacochas	north-western region of the Cuntisuyo
Pastu	northern Ecuador; northernmost region of Inca empire
Peru/Birú	name mistakenly given to the Inca empire of Tahuantinsuyo by the early Spanish explorer of the

	Pacific coast Pascual de Andagoya
peso	name of coinage, originally meaning weight. Estimated present-day value of gold and silver – Peso de Oro: £25; peso or mark of silver: £17; peso of stamped silver (<i>plata ensayada</i>): £25; unmarked silver: £20. The value in Spain during the early colonial period would quite possibly have been threefold
piece of eight	coinage; approximately equivalent to ½ peso of gold
Písac	encomienda, situated in valley of that name in the Yucay
Piura	equatorial township
Potosí	city in Bolivia, founded in 1545 because of the great wealth of its silver mine, the Cerro Rico
procurator	title of a governorship
Pucará	Battle of, north of Lake Titicaca, 8 October 1554; defeat of Francisco Hernández Girón by the royalist army of the judges of Lima
Puerto Viejo	the old port, north of Guayaquil
Quéchua	language and ruling tribe of the Inca empire
Quipucamayoc	guardians of the quipu, coloured strings used for numeration, and keeping historical and astrological records
Quito	northern capital of Inca empire; founded in 1534 as San Francisco de Quito; capital of Ecuador
regidor	alderman
Sacred Valley of the Incas	the valley of the Yucay, just north of Cuzco
San Mateo	equatorial bay
Sapa Inca	emperor
Sucre	see La Plata
Surampalli	country retreat of Emperor Huayna Cápac, to the south of the equatorial city of Tumibamba
Tahuantinsuyo	name of the Inca empire of the four <i>suyos</i> , regions – Antisuyo, Chinchasuyo, Collasuyo and Cuntisuyo

<i>tambo</i>	Inca fortress or storehouse
Titicaca	lake in the Collasuyo, sacred to the Incas; 12,500 feet above sea level and covering 3,500 square miles; bordering Peru and Bolivia
Tucumán	southern province of the Collasuyo in northern Argentina
Túmbez	early Spanish settlement on the equatorial coast
Tumibamba	equatorial Andean capital of the Cañari tribe; birthplace of Emperor Huayna Cápac who gave it the name of his panaca; site of present-day city of Cuenca, the Spanish municipality of which was founded in 1557
Veragua	north-westerly province of Nicaragua
Vilcabamba	Inca fortress settlement, north-west of Cuzco; built by the Inca Manco; known as the Lost City of the Incas; probable site is Espíritu Pampa
Villaoma	title of the Inca High Priest of the Sun
Viracocha	cosmic Andean deity
Vitcos	Inca township, near Vilcabamba, north-west of Cuzco
Yanacona	nomadic servant caste
Yucay	valley north of Cuzco; personal fiefdom of Emperor Huayna Cápac and of his panaca; renowned for its climate and beauty
yupanqui	quéchua title, denoting royalty

Notes

The transcription of manuscripts is by Josefa García Tovar and their translation from Spanish into English is by the author, as are all other translations.

Preface

1. Porras Barrenechea, *Pizarro*, pp. 665–7.

Chapter One

1. Testimony of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, in MS Información de Francisco Pizarro, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 145, N.2, R.2.
2. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, p. 214.
3. Testimony of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, in MS Información de Francisco Pizarro.
4. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia General*, Tomo 121.
5. Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, pp. 380–4.
6. MS Ordenes Militares – Santiago No. 6324 – Pruebas de Nobleza de Don Francisco Pizarro, Trujillo, 1529, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
7. Pizarro's uncle Juan, as in the case of his father, however made no mention of him in his will. Luisa Cuesta, 'Testamento del Capitán Gonzalo Pizarro', in 'Una documentación interesante sobre la familia del conquistadore del Perú,' in *Revista de Indias* 8 (1947), pp. 866–71.
8. Información de Nicolás de Ribera, el viejo, in *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*, Lima, 1937.
9. Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, p. 29.
10. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, Vol. 1, p. 109.
11. Díaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, Introducción de Miguel León Portilla.
12. MS Ordenes Militares – Pruebas de Nobleza de Don Francisco Pizarro.

13. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, Appendix, pp. 481–5.
14. Fabie (ed.), *Viajes por España de Jorge de Eingen, del Barón León de Rosmithal de Baina, de Francisco Guicciardini y de Andrés de Navajero*.
15. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*.
16. Pizarro, *Relación*, pp. 169–70.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 170–1.
20. Xerex, *Verdadera Relación*, p. 59.

Chapter Two

1. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 196.
2. Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú*, p. 352.
3. Levillier (ed.), ‘Gobernantes del Perú, Cartas y Papeles del Siglo XVI’, Vol. 7, p. 124.
4. MS Información de Don Francisco Sayri Túpac, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 472.
5. Levillier (ed.), ‘Gobernantes del Perú,’ Vol. 7, p. 118.
6. ‘Discurso de la sucesión y Gobierno de los Incas’, reproduced in Luna, *El Cuzco y el Gobierno de los Incas*, pp. 31–5, 40–1.
7. Testimony of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, in MS Información de los conquistadores, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 28B. The mother of his eldest son was the coya Doña Beatriz Manco Cápac, Huayna Cápac’s youngest daughter.
8. Trujillo, *Relación*, p. 196.
9. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 173.
10. Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Ynca*. Libro 5, Parte Primera, Capítulo 7.
11. *De Soto Chronicles*, University of Alabama Press, 1993, Ch. 30
12. MS Información de Diego Maldonado, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 93, N.11, R.2.
13. Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, [Chapter 2](#).

14. MS Información del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 109, N.1, R.4.
15. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, p.121.
16. Mena, *La Conquista del Perú*, llamada la Nueva Castilla, pp. 80–1. Trujillo, *Relación*, p. 199.
17. MS Información del Adelantado Hernando de Soto.
18. Mena, *La Conquista del Perú*, p. 81.
19. Francisco López de Xerez, Verdadera Relación de la Conquista del Perú, pp. 91–2.
20. Mena, *La Conquista del Perú*, pp. 80–3; Trujillo, *Relación*, pp. 200–3; Ruiz de Arce, *Advertencias*, pp. 421–2.
21. MS Información hecha por el fiscal en el pleito de Don Francisco Pizarro y Don Hernando Pizarro, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Legajo 496.

Chapter Three

1. Ruiz de Arce, *Advertencias*, p. 425.
2. MS Información hecha por el fiscal ... Hernando Pizarro.
3. MS Información de Francisco Atahualpa y Diego Hillaquita ... hijos de Don Francisco Atahualpa, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 187–8, R.21.
4. Estete, *Noticia del Perú*, p. 378.
5. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 238.
6. MS Información de Francisco Atahualpa.
7. Pizarro, *Relación*, pp. 186–7.
8. MS El libro de la vida y costumbres de don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán, caballero noble desbaratado, escrita por el mismo. Biblioteca Nacional. Madrid. No. 9123.
9. Porras Barrenechea, *Pizarro*, p. 37.
10. MS Información de los conquistadores.
11. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Tomo 4.
12. MS Información hecha por el fiscal ... Hernando Pizarro.

13. Estete, in Xerez, *Verdadera Relación*, p. 144.
14. MS Información del capitán Pedro del Barco, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 204, N.12.
15. MS Información de Don Pedro del Barco y Doña Catalina del Barco, hijos del capitán Pedro del Barco, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Justicia, 429, N.2.
16. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, in Stirling (ed.), *The Last Conquistador*, Appendix 2.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Estete, in Xerez, *Verdadera Relación*, pp. 144–5.
20. Saignes, ‘Caciques, Tribute and Migration in the Southern Andes’, University of London, Institute of Latin American Studies, Occasional Papers, No. 15, 35.
21. Sancho de la Hoz, *Relación de la Conquista del Perú*, pp. 13–14.
22. Loredó, *Los Repartos*, pp. 72–4. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, pp. 42–4.
23. Will of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, dated 1589, in Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, Appendix 1.
24. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
25. Xerez, *Verdadera Relación*, p. 152.
26. MS Información de Francisco Atahualpa.
27. Xerez, *Verdadera Relación*, p. 156.
28. MS Información de Francisco Atahualpa.
29. Betanzos, *Suma y Narración de los Incas*, ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio, pp. 284–5.
30. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 185.
31. Cieza de León, *Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*, pp. 183–4.
32. MS Información de Francisco Atahualpa.
33. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
34. Ruiz de Arce, *Advertencias*, pp. 435–6.

Chapter Four

1. MS Información del Adelantado Hernando de Soto.
2. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
3. *Ibid.* MS Información del Adelantado Hernando de Soto. MS Información de Bernabé Picón, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 104B, R.15.
4. Trujillo, *Relación*, p. 205.
5. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
6. *Ibid.*
7. MS Información de Doña María Manrique Coya, Archivo Regional del Cuzco.
8. *Ibid.*
9. MS Información de los conquistadores.
10. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
11. MS Información del Adelantado Hernando de Soto.
12. MS Información de Doña María Manrique Coya.
13. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 192.
16. Sancho de la Hoz, *Relación de la Conquista del Perú*, pp. 88–92.
17. MS Declaración de los Indios que residen en Potosí, Año 1550, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Justicia 667, N.2.
18. MS Información de los conquistadores.
19. Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, pp. 97–8.
20. Sancho de la Hoz, *Relación de la Conquista del Perú*, pp. 75–6.
21. Trujillo, *Relación*, p. 206.
22. For the Leguizamón family's descent from the Cid, see Lope García de Salazar, *Las Bienandanzas e Fortunas: Del linaje de Leguizamón*, ed. Maximiliano Camarón. Also Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, pp. 6–8.
23. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Libro 3, Capítulo 20. The refrain is taken from *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* by the Jesuit chronicler José de Acosta.
24. Mansio Serra de Leguizamón's will.
25. MS Información de Francisco Pizarro.

26. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia del Perú*, Libro 2, Capítulo 7.
27. Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Peru*, Vol. V, pp. 426–7.
28. MS Información de Doña María Manrique Coya.
29. Sempat Assadourian, *Transiciones Hacia el Sistema Colonial Andino*, p. 144.
30. Cristóbal de Molina, ‘La Destrucción del Perú’, in *Las Crónicas de los Molinas*, ed. Francisco Loayza, Lima, 1943, pp. 51–2.

Chapter Five

1. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
2. Porras Barrenechea, *Pizarro*, p. 300.
3. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, pp. 164–5.
4. MS Información de Francisco Atahualpa.
5. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, p. 168.
6. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
7. Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Peru*, Vol. V, p. 434.
8. Porras Barrenechea, *Pizarro*, p. 465.
9. MS Carta del Fray Vicente de Valverde, Obispo del Cuzco, escrita al Emperador Carlos V, Manuscrito No. 3216 de la Sala de Cervantes, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.
10. Molina, *Conquista*, pp. 345–6.
11. María del Carmen Martín Rubio (ed.), *Instrucción del Inca Don Diego de Castro Tito Cusi Yupanqui*, p. 144.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento y Conquista, Tomo 20, pp. 237–8.
14. Porras Barrenechea, *Cartas del Perú*, pp. 337–8.
15. Guillén Guillén, *Versión Inca de la Conquista*, p. 120.
16. MS Información de Diego Maldonado.
17. Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, p. 302.
18. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.

19. Cieza de León, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, p. 302.
20. Varón Gabai, *La Ilusión del Poder*, pp. 77–8.
21. MS Colección Inédita García, Archivo Regional del Cuzco.
22. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
23. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 202.
24. MS Información de Francisco Pizarro.
25. MS Información del Capitán Pedro del Barco.
26. Murúa, *Historia General del Perú*, Vol. 1, p. 99.
27. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Vargas, *Historia del Cuzco Incaico*, Vol. 1, p. 133.
30. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.

Chapter Six

1. MS Información de Francisco Pizarro.
2. MS Carta del Fray Vicente de Valverde. The transcribed name of Manco's warrior chief is Tey Yupanqui.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, pp. 175–8.
6. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 2, Capítulo 22.
7. Porras Barrenechea, *Cartas del Perú*, pp. 337–8.
8. MS Información de Don Melchor Carlos Inca, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Manuscritos Americanos, No. 20, 193
9. John H. Rowe, 'Machu Picchu a la luz de los documentos del Siglo XVI', *Histórica*, 14 (1990), pp. 139–54.
10. MS Cédula de depósito de 1539, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 188. MS Información de Don Melchor Carlos Inca.
11. Stirling, *The Inca Princesses*, Chapter 14.
12. MS Carta del Fray Vicente de Valverde.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 214.

15. Cieza de León, *Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Tomo Primero, p. 198.
16. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, pp. 193–5.
17. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 2, Capítulo 38.
18. MS Codicilio del Gobernador don Diego de Almagro, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Escribanía de Cámara, No. 1007.
19. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, pp. 213–15.
20. MS Codicilio del Gobernador don Diego de Almagro.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Cieza de León, *Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Tomo Primero, p. 419.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

Chapter Seven

1. Cieza de León, *Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Tomo Primero, p. 423.
2. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
3. MS Información de Don Melchor Carlos, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Manuscritos Americanos, No. 20, 193.
4. MS Carta del Fray Vicente de Valverde.
5. Saignes, ‘Caciques, Tribute and Migration in the Southern Andes’, p. 35.
6. Levillier (ed.), *Gobernantes del Perú*, Vol. 2, p. 145.
7. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 222.
8. MS Información del Capitán Pedro del Barco.
9. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
10. MS Información de Francisco Pizarro.
11. María del Carmen Martín Rubio (ed.), *Instrucción del Inca Don Diego de Castro Tito Cusi Yupanqui*, p. 215.
12. Puente Brunke, *Encomienda y Encomenderos en el Perú*, p. 141. Census of 1540: Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, p. 111.
13. Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Crónica*, Vol. 1, p. 288.
14. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 3, Capítulo 2, 3 and 4.
15. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, Libro 4.

Chapter Eight

1. Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Peru*, p. 272.
2. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, p. 128. Zárate's description depicted Lima some four years after Pizarro's killing.
3. Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Quinquenarios*, Libro 1, p. 257.
4. MS Información de Francisco Pizarro.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
7. Pizarro, *Relación*, p 225.
8. MS Fragmento de los autos que siguió Hernando Pizarro, 1533, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Papeles de Justicia, legajo 422.
9. Porras Barrenechea, *Pizarro*, p. 585.
10. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, pp. 209–12.
11. Cieza de León, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, p. 119.
12. Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, p. 204.
13. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
14. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, p. 83.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
16. Cieza de León, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, p. 2.
17. Chavez (ed.), *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, Vol. 3, p. 13.
18. Prescott, *The Conquest of Peru*, pp. 365–6.
19. Chavez (ed.), *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, Vol. 2, p. 116.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 68.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 87–8.
22. Hampe, 'Los Momias de los Incas en Lima', p. 407.
23. Juan José Vega (ed.), *Relación de los Quipucamayocs*, Lima, 1974, p. 75.
24. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 205.
25. MS Información de Bernabé Picón.

Chapter Nine

1. López Martínez, *Diego Centeno y la Rebelión de los Encomenderos*, p. 40.
2. Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas*, Aguilar, 1968, pp. 65–6.
3. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Libro 1, p. 184.
4. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 5, Capítulo 39.
5. Gonzalo Pizarro's evidence in MS Información del Capitán Pedro del Barco. In 1540 'tenía más de 25 años' ('somewhat older than twenty-five years').
6. Zárate, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*, p. 276.
7. *Ibid.*
8. López Martínez, *Diego Centeno y la Rebelión de los Encomenderos*, p. 32.
9. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Libro 1, p. 286.
10. Información de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.
11. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 5, Capítulo 41.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Perez de Tudela (ed.), *Documentos Relativos a Don Pedro de la Gasca*, Vol. 2, p. 354.
16. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 4, Capítulo 40.
17. *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Vol. 49, pp. 277–8.
18. MS Información de Diego Maldonado.
19. Zárate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista*, pp. 391–4.
20. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Libro 4, p. 157.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
22. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 5, Capítulo 35.
23. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Libro 4, p. 158.
24. Prescott, *The Conquest of Peru*, pp. 498–9.
25. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerra Civiles del Perú*, Libro 4, p. 169.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
27. Pizarro, *Relación*, p. 238.

28. Perez de Tudela (ed.), *Documentos ... Gasca*, Vol. 2, p. 258.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
30. Stirling-Maxwell, *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V*, p. 49.

Chapter Ten

1. Stirling, *The Inca Princesses*, pp. 39–40.
2. MS Información de Diego Maldonado.
3. MS Información de Hernando de Soto.
4. Betanzos, *Suma y Narración*, p. 260. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón, Archivo General de Indias, Lima 205.
5. Molina, *Conquista y Población del Perú*, Tomo 3, pp. 342–3.
6. MS Información de Martín García de Loyola, Archivo General de las Indias, Patronato 118.
7. MS Archivo de Protocolos de Córdoba, Oficio 29, Protocolo 35, 62.
8. Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*, p. 12.
9. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, pp. 178–9.
10. MS Información de Gómez de Mazuelas, Archivo General de Indias, Lima 177.
11. Perez de Tudela (ed.), *Documentos ... Gasca*, Vol. 2, p. 71.
12. ‘El Monasterio de Santa Clara de la Ciudad del Cuzco’, in *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 11 (1938), pp. 55–95.
13. Will of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, 1589.
14. Diego de Mendoza, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de las Charcas*, pp. 399–405.
15. ‘Carta de los licenciados Cepeda y Vera a Felipe 11, La Plata, 14 February 1585’, in *Monumenta Misionen, Monumenta Peruana*, 1961.
16. MS Protocolo 11, 1586, Luis de Quesada, fol. 25, Archivo Regional del Cuzco.
17. MS Doña Elena Girón Heredia y Francisco Serra de Leguizamón, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Contratación 5239, N.1, R.10.
18. Will of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, 1589.
19. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Libro 3, Capítulo 20.

20. Raúl Rivera Serna, 'El Primer testamento de Mansio Serra de Leguizamón', in *Mar del Sur*, p. 27.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, p. 126.
23. Will of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, 1589.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Libro 3, p. 177.
27. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Betanzos, *Suma y Narración*, p. 260.
30. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
31. MS Información de Diego Maldonado.
32. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Chavez (ed.), *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, Vol. 3, pp. 79–80.
35. MS Información de Diego Maldonado.
36. *Ibid.*
37. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
38. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Las Guerras Civiles del Perú*, Libro 3, pp. 177–8.
39. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú*, Libro 6, Capítulo 30.
40. MS Autos seguidos por Martín García de Licona, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima.
41. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
42. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, p. 111.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Fernández, *Historia del Perú*, Libro 3, Capítulo 4, p. 76.
45. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, p. 133.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.

49. *Ibid.*
50. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
51. Informaciones Acera del Señorío de los Incas, p. 256.
52. MS Información de Juan Serra de Leguizamón.
53. MS Autos seguidos por Martín García de Licona.
54. *Ibid.*

Chapter Eleven

1. The Scots laird was William Stirling, later known as Sir William Stirling-Maxwell. Stirling-Maxwell, *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V*, pp. 470–2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
3. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, p. 127.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
9. Wetthey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, p. 39.
10. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), *Informaciones Acerca del Señorío de los Incas*, pp. 257–9. MS Información de los conquistadores.
11. Levillier (ed.), ‘Gobernantes del Perú’, Vol. 7, pp. 117–28.
12. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, pp. 136–7.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Porras Barrenechea, *Pizarro*, p. 618.
17. Lynch, *Spain 1516–1598*, p. 215.
18. Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *Transiciones Hacia el Sistema Colonial Andino*, p. 144.
19. Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, Appendix 1, will of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, dated 18 September 1589. The conquistadore died in January 1590, as can be deduced from his son Francisco’s testimonial.

MS Información de Francisco Serra de Leguizamón, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 126.

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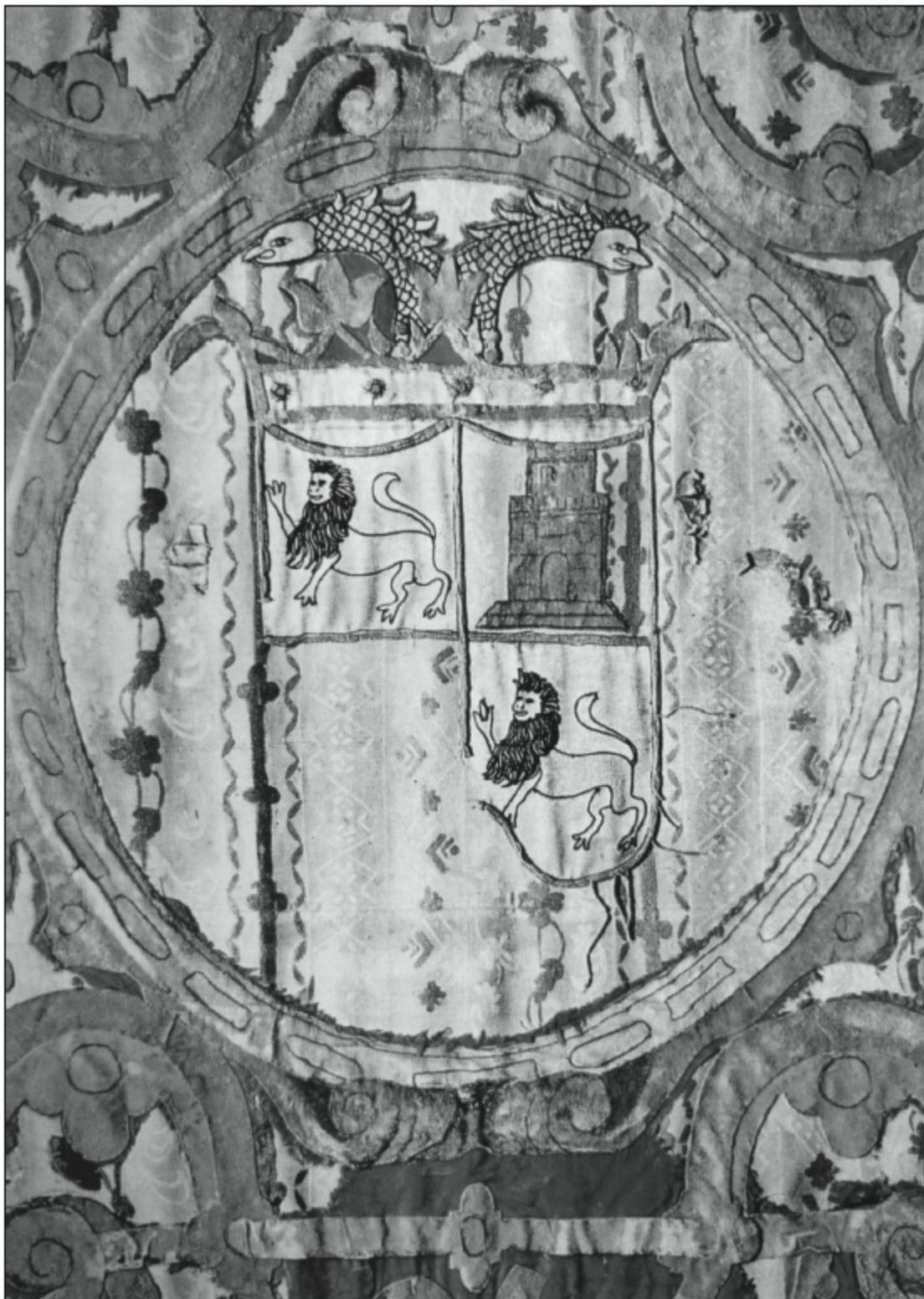
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Statue of Francisco Pizarro, Trujillo, Extremadura. (*Stuart Stirling*)



This sculpture on a wall of the Palacio de la Conquista, Trujillo, Extremadura, is the only known contemporary portrait of Francisco Pizarro. (*Stuart Stirling*)



The Banner of the Conquest, Museo del Ejército, Madrid. (*Stuart Stirling*)



Toledo showing the Alcázar from the banks of the Rio Tago, from the same viewpoint as El Greco's painting of the city. (*Stuart Stirling*)



The Palacio de la Conquista, built by Pizarro's brother, Hernando, and Pizarro's daughter, Doña Francisca, in Trujillo, Extremadura. (*Stuart Stirling*)



A contemporary funeral sculpture of Hernando Pizarro, Trujillo, Extremadura, which was salvaged from Trujillo's old convent of San Francisco. (*Stuart Stirling*)



A bust of the Inca Princess Doña Inés, Francisco Pizarro's mistress, which is situated below the sculpture of 'Francisco', on the wall of the Palacio de la Conquista, Trujillo, Extremadura. (*Stuart Stirling*)



Charles V, by Eneas Vico, from the frontispiece of *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V*, 1891, by William Stirling. (*Stuart Stirling*)



Opposite: An engraving of Atahualpa (kneeling) and Pizarro. (*Private Collection/Stuart Stirling*)



Left: Inca genealogy, late eighteenth century, Cuzco School. (Formerly in Private Collection/Stuart Stirling)



Opposite: An engraving of The Panchao, which the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón reputedly looted in the capture of Cuzco. (Private Collection/Stuart Stirling)



The temple city of Machu Picchu, discovered by Hiram Bingham in 1911, which may have been secretly known to the conquistadores for its booty. (*Alexander Stirling*)



Opposite: The Virgin of La Merced, the patron of Cuzco's convent of La Merced, where Diego de Almagro and Gonzalo Pizarro are buried, eighteenth century, Potosí School. (Private Collection/Stuart Stirling)



Casa de las Serpes, Cuzco, the mansion of the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, which is built on an Inca palace. Note the Inca wall snakes, which denote wisdom, on either side of the door. Larger and more ornate ones support the conquistadore's coat of arms. (*Stuart Stirling*)



The coat of arms awarded to the conquistadore Mansio Serra de Leguizamón by Emperor Charles V, depicting the head of the Villaoma, the Inca High Priest of the Sun whom he captured, and chains, Ayuntamiento de Pinto. (*Stuart Stirling*)



An eighteenth-century engraving of King Philip II, after Titian. (*Private Collection/Stuart Stirling*)



Casa de la Moneda, Potosí, the principal mint of Potosí's silver. (*Alexander Stirling*)



Cerro Rico, Potosí. (*Alexander Stirling*)



The portal of the church of San Lorenzo, Potosí, built between 1728 and 1744, is one of the finest examples of Colonial sculpture in the Americas. (*Stuart Stirling*)



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